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**THE**PERIODICAL ROOM  
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The general subscription price is \$2.50 a year in the United States. For other countries an extra charge of 25¢ for postage is made (total \$2.75). Single copies, 35¢ (foreign, 40¢). Subscriptions for less than a year will be charged at the single copy rate.

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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL is published by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South with the cooperation of the Classical Association of New England, the Classical Association of the Pacific States, and the Classical Association of the Atlantic States. The annual volume consists of eight issues (October through May).

Entered as second-class matter at the Post Office at Menasha, Wis., on October 19, 1934. Additional entry as second-class matter at St. Louis, Mo., under Act of August 24, 1912. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on October 19, 1934.

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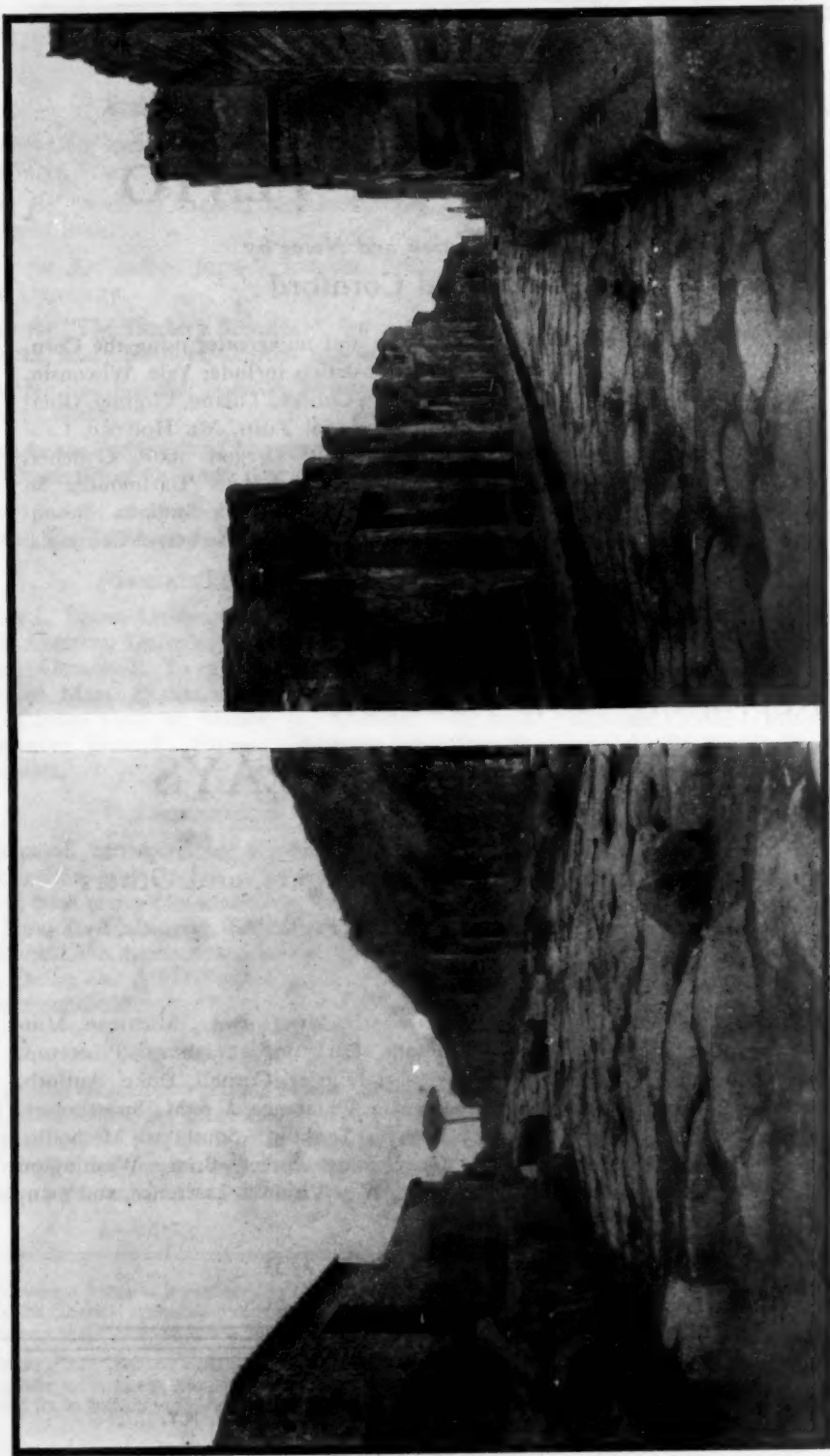


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POMPEIAN STREET SCENES TODAY

LITTLE IMAGINATION is needed to see these streets as they must have been before Vesuvius buried them in 79 A.D. Notice the "umbrella" pine tree in the left-hand picture. It is the shape to which Pliny the Elder compared the towering column of smoke above the volcano in his famous description of the eruption. Notice also the massive paving blocks of volcanic rock which are characteristic of Roman roads wherever such stone is available. You will also notice the stepping-stones for the convenience of pedestrians.

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*A peculiar geometrical design is associated with the Labyrinth of Cnossus, the walls of Troy, the evolutions of a Greek dance, and a game performed by Roman youths on horseback.*

## Labyrinth or Troy Town?

by John L. Heller

"**H**ISTORY and antiquity supply our curious minds with many pleasant, profitless exercises." With these words, Andrew Lang began a stimulating discussion of the meaning and origin of a peculiar geometrical design found on prehistoric rock-engravings in England and also, among many other places, on portable round stones, the "churinga" of the aborigines of central Australia. His modesty, of course, was meant to be disarming; the recent history of the swastika warns us that certain other minds might have indulged in such exercises with more thoroughness and much more profit to the world.

### A Profitable Exercise

THIS PAPER is concerned with the meaning and origin of another peculiar geometrical design. It was best known in antiquity as a representation of the Cretan labyrinth (fig. 1),

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but it has also been associated, at one time or another, with many other things, including the walls of Troy, the evolutions of a Greek dance, and with an equestrian game performed by Roman boys and described by Virgil in the fifth book of the *Aeneid*. Sometimes it has no precise associations at all, for it is primarily, as I hope to show, a figure with a mysterious power to fascinate and amaze.

It has been executed in many media, as an engraving cut in stone or stamped on metal, as a design in mosaic pavements and in mediaeval manuscripts, as a graffito rudely scratched on the wall of a house at ancient Pompeii and also, a strange parallel, in modern Arizona on the wall of a ruined Indian building. It first appeared as a miniature on an Etruscan vase of the seventh century B.C. It is still known as a full-scale maze, anything but a miniature, cut in turf, lined by hedges, or set with stones, in various parts of the Old World and the New, but particularly in England and Scandinavia.

It has amused countless children. Their elders too, not content with playing games in the maze or with the design, have often speculated about its possible significance as a symbol of the sun, or of man's journey through life, or even of the human viscera. Local antiquarians have used its classical con-

nections as evidence for the Trojan origin of London or for the identification of Scandinavia as the lost island of Atlantis. And there has even been one who would modernize Rudbeck's conclusion and claim a Nordic origin not merely for this figure but for the whole legend of Troy and Helen.



FIG. 1. COIN OF CNOSSUS (MATTHEWS, FIG. 30)

Indeed the complexity of the figure seems to forbid a theory that it was developed independently in the north and in the south of Europe—to omit America from present consideration. Most investigators have been agreed for some time that diffusion must have taken place, that it was directed from the south to the north, and that it occurred in historical times. Only recently, however, has a plausible theory been suggested to account for the manner of the diffusion. This theory, which comes from a quite unexpected source, dispels the mystery of the figure's construction, but will not diminish its interest. Readers of this journal will also be interested in another recent contribution to the study of the figure, a brilliant demonstration of its relevance to the *Troiae lus* described by Virgil.

OUR LITERARY sources for the legend of Theseus and the Cretan labyrinth are all late (Callim. *Del.* 310 f.; Verg. *Aen.* 5.588-591,

6.14-30; Ov. *Met.* 8.157 ff.; Diod. Sic. 1.61.2-4, 4.61.4, 4.77.4; Plin. *N. H.* 36.85; Plut. *Thes.* 15 ff.; Apollod. *Bib.* 3.1.4, 3.15.8, *Epit.* 1.8 f.), but it is certain that the tradition goes back at least to the beginning of the fifth century B.C.; compare Pherecydes frg. 148 (Jacoby, *Frg. Gr. Hist.* 1). Plutarch follows a "most poetical" account, probably a tragedy, while Apollodorus' description of the labyrinth, οἶκημα καμπαῖς πολυπλόκοις πλανῶν τὴν ἔξοδον, has the ring of poetry, as Frazer notes (on 3.1.4). Indeed, many scholars believe that the tradition is much older. According to this familiar story, the labyrinth was a complicated building, roofless (cf. Soph. frg. 1030, Pearson), but with many windings and turnings in its walls, so constructed that a person, once left alone inside, would be unable to find his way out, and would perish there, either dying of hunger or falling prey to the dreadful monster, the Minotaur, to contain which the famous artisan Daedalus had designed this *inextricabilis error*. There the Cretans were wont to imprison the seven maidens and seven youths brought annually from Athens as tribute, until the hero Theseus put an end to this human sacrifice by killing the Minotaur and escaping from the labyrinth by means of a clue of yarn, which Ariadne, the daughter of Minos, had shown him how to use.

### The Labyrinth

AN ITALIAN engraving of the fifteenth century depicts the scene (fig. 2). Note the curious design of the labyrinth, and compare it with a very similar (but not quite identical) figure engraved on one of the porch piers of the cathedral at Lucca (fig. 3). Note also the form of the lady's name, the same by which she was known to Chaucer. Wilhelm Meyer, the distinguished German mediaevalist, showed in 1882 that these and many similar figures, found as drawings in the pages of mediaeval manuscripts or as engravings or mosaics on the walls or pavements of churches, are elaborations of a simpler form with a single axis (fig. 4). The earliest example of this type he found in a manuscript of St.



FIG. 2. ITALIAN ENGRAVING (MATTHEWS, FIG. 6)

Gall, where it bore the legend, written in a ninth-century hand, *Domus <Dedali>* (again cf. Chaucer, *H. F.* 1920). Other variations of a labyrinthine figure, usually associated with the legend of the Minotaur, are known from various Roman mosaics of the late classical period (cf. fig. 19, below), but, as Meyer also showed, the prototype of the ninth-century design is clearly to be recognized as one which appeared repeatedly on coins of Cnossus in the Hellenistic period. Earlier coins of this city frequently bore a figure of the Minotaur, often accompanied by a meander-like design perhaps intended to suggest the labyrinth. Beginning about 400 B.C., our figure appears, but in a square form; the round form (fig. 1) first occurs on coins of the second century B.C. It makes no difference that on the coins the opening in the figure is at the top; the design is exactly the same, except that the mediaeval figures have been made more symmetrical (indeed, they

follow lines of perfect circles) by avoiding the characteristic cross where, on the coins, the vertical radius intersects the fourth (or fifth) spiral.

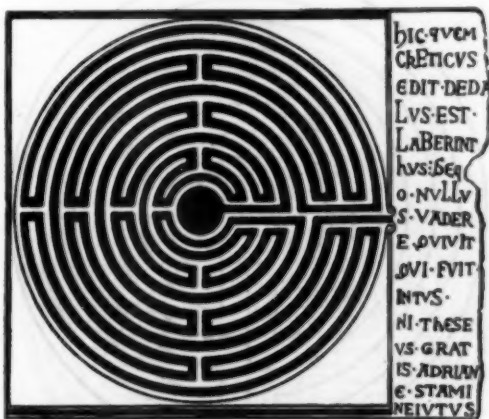


FIG. 3. ENGRAVING ON PORCH PIER OF LUCCA CATHEDRAL (TROLLOPE, FIG. 1)

The rectangular type also appears scratched on the painted surface of a column in the House of Lucretius at Pompeii (fig. 5), with an accompanying inscription (CIL 4.2331) associating it definitely with the Cretan labyrinth. At this point, however, we must observe—if the reader has not already observed it for himself—that our figure cannot represent the labyrinth of legend, for it is impossible to lose one's way in it. The figure is what mathematicians call "unicursal," having only one course. There is no point along the course where there are more than two choices. You must either go forward or backward. If you go forward, you will infallibly reach the center, after traversing every part of the figure. If you go backward, you will infallibly reach the entrance. The same is true of all the other figures discussed in this paper. Some are a little more complicated than this one, but they are all unicursal.

This point was observed by the elder Pliny. Though the Cretan labyrinth had disappeared from view in his time (N. H. 36.90; cf. Diod. Sic. 1.61.4), Pliny clearly distinguished the legendary form from that of our figure. The true labyrinth, he says (36.85), *itinerum ambages occursusque ac recursus inexplicabiles continet, non—ut in pavimentis puerorumve ludicris campestribus videmus—*



FIG. 4. MS DRAWING (CF. MEYER, FIG. 3)



FIG. 5. GRAFFITO AT POMPEII (MATTHEWS, FIG. 32)

*brevi lacinia milia passuum plura ambulationis continentem, sed crebris foribus inditis ad fallendos occursus redeundumque in errores eosdem. Brevi lacinia milia passuum plura ambulationis continens*—it would be hard to frame a neater description of a unicursal maze.

What the "real" labyrinth of Crete was like, or if there ever was one, is quite another question, to which no completely satisfactory answer has yet been given. We are simply concerned with the fact that somehow our figure came to be associated with the legendary labyrinth. The association is testified for Greece as early as the fourth century B.C., and for Italy at least as early as the first century A.D. The association was continued in a learned and artistic tradition, which elaborated the figure, spread it through the Roman provinces, and preserved it during the middle ages.

### Troy Town

THE FIGURE, of course, continued to live through the Renaissance and into modern times, but here we are faced with the stubborn facts that its habitat is in the north of Europe, its association is usually with the walls of Troy, and that its context is not learned but genuinely popular.

A well-attested British tradition states that at an early period, reaching back certainly into Elizabethan times, Welsh shepherds were in the habit of cutting mazes in the turf, which they said represented the walls of Troy, defended by a series of seven walls and with the entrance made as intricate



as possible. The figure was called *Caerdroia*, or "City of Troy," as in this example (fig. 6), which is easily recognized as identical with the form which Meyer considered typical (fig. 4), except that it is flattened on the side containing the entrance. Another form may be seen in a turf-maze, also known as "Troy Town," which is still preserved on an Oxfordshire estate (fig. 7). The shaded portion of the drawing here reproduced represents the path to be followed in reaching the center. If one examines the white portions, the characteristic pattern of a cross is readily made out, and one sees that the basic design is the same as that on the Cretan coins, though here the figure is complicated by extra involutions which produce fifteen "walls" instead of seven.



FIG. 6. "CAERDROIA" (MATTHEWS, FIG. 70)

Other variations of this figure, usually but not always associated with the name "Troy," have been recorded in various parts of England. What is more remarkable, they are particularly common on the continent, in the region around the Baltic sea, where the lines are scratched on rock or set with stones upon the bare ground. Here again the prevailing name is *Trojburg*, or "Troy Town," as in the case of a specially good example near Visby on the coast of the island of Gotland. Like the Oxfordshire "Troy Town," whose size the Visby maze closely approximates (18 meters in diameter), this one is based on the classical cruciform design, but it contains eleven "walls" instead of seven (or fifteen). Other early examples are known from Eilenriede, near Hanover, and from various places in Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, northern Russia, and even Iceland. The oldest of the Icelandic figures, found in a manuscript

of the fourteenth century, clearly belongs to the learned tradition, as Meyer pointed out. Its name, *Volundarhus* (i.e., "Wayland's House"), written in a more recent hand, is simply a translation of *Domus Dedali*. The same may be true of a fifteenth-century chalk-painting on the wall of a church at Sibbo, Finland, which has the same form as the large maze at Visby (11 walls), and of a figure on a Danish stone cross (fig. 8), evidently of very respectable antiquity, which reproduces exactly the classical form. In these two cases, no name is attached to the figures. In the more recent examples, however, where a name is still recoverable from contemporary records or from living traditions, the figure is either associated with the classical city of Troy (and this is most usual) or with other cities familiar in Biblical legend (Babylon, Jericho, Jerusalem, Nineveh), or with a purely secular subject, such as those indicated by the names "Giant's Fence" and "Maiden's Dance."

What at first sight appears still more remarkable, certain Indian tribes of the American Southwest were and are familiar with the figure. It appears, in the classical 7-walled form, scratched on the adobe walls of Casa Grande Ruin in the Gila Valley of southern Arizona (fig. 9), also pecked in a rock on the terrace of the Hopi Indian pueblo of Shipau-



FIG. 7. "TROY TOWN" (MATTHEWS, FIG. 69)



lovi in northern Arizona, and is a not uncommon motive on Pima Indian baskets and plaques. There is evidence that these clans, who lived near the ruin in southern Arizona, were acquainted with the figure as early as 1761 or 1762. They do not associate it, of course, with the classical city, but rather with their own mythical hero, Tcuoho ("Gopher"), who once led them from the underworld through a spiral hole. In a recent issue of *The Scientific Monthly*, Mr. Harold S. Colton has discussed these figures in relation to the European examples. He concludes that the Indian figures are not pre-Columbian, and that the idea was probably borrowed by the Indians from European explorers or missionaries. A Franciscan mission was established in 1629 only two miles away from Shipaulovi, and a certain Father Kino is known to have said mass in the Casa Grande Ruin in 1694. Mr. Colton suggests that Father Kino, being a German, might well have been acquainted with the continental "Troy Towns."

More careful research into the antiquity, typology, distribution and association of the turf- and stone-mazes of northern Europe is still necessary, but it certainly does not seem



FIG. 8. DANISH STONE CROSS  
(MATTHEWS, FIG. 128)



FIG. 9. CASA GRANDE LABYRINTH  
(COLTON, FIG. 1)

likely that the mediaeval tradition of the labyrinthine figure was the sole factor, or even the determining factor, in their existence. When Shakespeare makes Titania say (*Mids. N. D.* 2.1.99 f.), "The quaint mazes in the wanton green, for lack of tread, are undistinguishable," and when we learn from early records that games and dances were once performed in the Germanic and Scandinavian *Trojaburgen*, it seems clear that the modern forms were not merely decorative nor connected only with a learned tradition. The change of name, from "labyrinth" to "Troy," may be significant. Some other possibility should at least be considered.

### *Troiae Lusus*

ONE SUCH possibility that has often been mentioned is that the northern examples might indicate the survival, in some way, of a Roman game performed by boys on horseback and known as *Troiae lusus*, *ludicrum Troiae*, or simply *Troia*. The emperor Augustus was particularly fond of this game, probably for sound political reasons, and many performances are recorded from his reign and those of his successors through the second century of our era. Moreover, the poet Virgil, who ascribes the introduction of this game to the Trojan Ascanius, son of Aeneas, and describes in full (*Aen.* 5.545-603) its alleged first

performance in Sicily during the memorial games for Anchises, adds toward the end of his description the striking observation that the evolutions of the boys on horseback were very similar to the windings and turnings of the Cretan labyrinth. Pointing to this passage, Meyer closed an appendix to his article with the significant question, "Is it possible that the name 'Trojaburg' has some connection with the Roman equestrian game, *Ludus Troiae*, which was still customary in the middle ages?"

This was in 1882. Just the year before, but too late for Meyer to make use of it, a discovery had been published which seemed brilliantly to confirm his conjecture, or at least part of it. Up to that time there had been no proof that the movements of the boys playing *Troia* had any real connection with the figure associated with the Cretan labyrinth, any more than there was for the conclusion, also drawn by Meyer, that the dancers in a famous Greek dance, known as the *γέρωνος* or "Crane," which had been instituted on the island of Delos by Theseus on his way back from Crete, also imitated this figure. That is, there was only the simile of Virgil in the one case, and the statements of Plutarch (*Thes.* 21) and Pollux (4.101; cf. Callim. *Del.* 310-313) in the other, and none of these mentions our figure, of course, though they do refer explicitly to the labyrinth.

But in 1881, an illustrated description of a small Etruscan wine pitcher was published, shortly after its discovery in a tomb at the

modern Tragliatella, not far from ancient Caere. The vase was decorated with various scenes, probably unrelated to each other, and annotated with incised characters which can be dated with some accuracy to the close of the seventh century B.C. Among the scenes there was one (fig. 10) which shows two men on horseback apparently emerging from a labyrinthine figure, identical with that on the Cretan coins. The figure is labelled *TRUIA*, in retrograde script. This happens to be the regular Etruscan form for Greek *Τροία*, but it also duplicates an Italic form which had previously been assumed to exist (on the basis of the obscure Latin verb *truare* or *amptuare* 'to run back and forth,' as in a ritualistic dance) in precisely the meaning of 'dance-floor' or 'arena' in which games were performed. Later on, according to the now century-old etymology of Klausen, this word *troia* or *truia* was also applied to any game performed in the arena, and in particular, to the one which later came to be called *Troiae lusus* or *Troia*, through confusion of the common Italic noun with the name of the Greek city. Though Virgil was wrong in ascribing (*Aen.* 5.596-602) a Trojan origin to the game, it was now realized that his reference to the Cretan labyrinth was something more than mere poetry. Evidently, a game or dance was known in early Italy, in the course of which mounted riders performed evolutions in a figure which elsewhere was associated with the Cretan labyrinth.

Otto Benndorf subsequently compared the

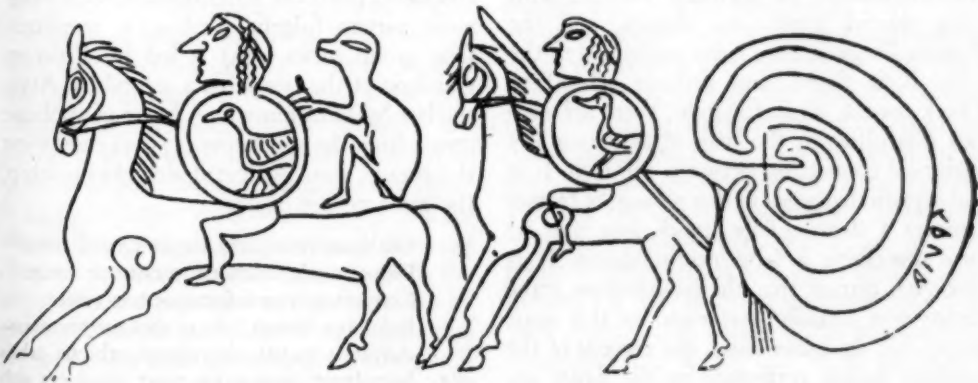


FIG. 10. SCENE FROM ETRUSCAN VASE (WINTER, FIG. 2)

technique of the Etruscan artist in representing this game to that of Hephaestus which is reflected in a puzzling passage of Homer's description of the shield of Achilles. "Therein furthermore the famed god of the two strong arms cunningly wrought a dancing-floor like unto that which in wide Cnosus Daedalus fashioned of old for fair-tressed Ariadne." Augustus Murray's translation of this passage (Il. 18.590-592) accepts Benndorf's (and Aristonicus') contention that here the word χορόν must have the unparalleled meaning 'dancing-floor.' If this is so, the description of the dancing figures, which follows (ἐνθα μὲν —593-606), can best be understood as representing a second part of the original work of art. That is, in each case the artist found it beyond his powers to represent in one scene, as fully and accurately as he could see it himself, both the dancers or riders and the arena in which they performed. He therefore portrayed the human agents and the locale separately, in contiguous scenes—a technique which is familiar in other naïve narrative art. Benndorf further argued that the dance described by Homer was similar to the Delian crane dance, also associated with Ariadne and, through the labyrinth, with Daedalus, and that both were in fact performed in this same figure, called *truia* (i.e., 'dancing-floor') in the Etruscan vase-painting, but elsewhere associated with the labyrinth. He added that in his opinion an affirmative answer could be given to Meyer's question.

Indeed there is a striking parallel between the *Trojaburgen* of northern Europe, with their related games and dances, and the Roman *Troiae lusus*, a game performed in the same basic figure, and perhaps related to Greek dances. Unfortunately, there are serious difficulties in the way of assuming any historical connection between the two. It is not certain that χορός in this passage of Homer denotes a dancing-floor, much less that he was describing a labyrinthine dance. It is not even certain that the labyrinthine crane dance was actually performed in this same figure. On the other hand, the records of the modern dances performed in the figure are neither so old nor so clear as they should be,

and the figure itself is not always called "Troy Town." Most serious of all, and contrary to the assertion of the words which I have italicized in Meyer's question above, there is no clear evidence for the survival of any game called *Troiae lusus* beyond the fourth Christian century, at the very latest. The most that can be said about the game is that it was certainly connected with this figure, but even Virgil and Pliny (if his words, *puerorum ludicris campestribus*, refer to the game) associate the figure with the labyrinth, not Troy.

### *Vestigia Cursu Impediunt*

A MUCH MORE plausible solution of the problem of transmission is now available. Before examining it, however, the reader will be interested in what I believe is the most successful of several attempts to determine, from Virgil's description (*Aen.* 5.545 ff.) on the one hand and the figure itself on the other, just how the Roman game was performed.

After the archery contest, Aeneas calls upon Epytides, Ascanius' tutor, to ask the boy if he and his companions were ready to perform, mounted and armed, in honor of Anchises. At the same time, he gives orders to the people to clear a wide circular space on the open plain. Then the boys advance on their horses; the spectators admire their appearance and their weapons. The boys are arranged in three groups (560-562): *Tres equitum numero turmae, ternique vagantur Ductores; pueri bis seni quemque secuti Agmine partito fulgent paribusque magistris.* One group (*acies*, 563) is led by Priamus, grandson of the late king, a second by Atys, the last by Iulus himself. A burst of applause comes from the spectators (575) as they view the parade, then, as Epytides cracks his whip, the game proper begins:

- 580 Olli discurrere pares, atque agmina terni  
Diductis solvere choris, rursusque vocati  
Convertere vias infestaque tela tulere.  
Inde alios ineunt cursus aliosque recursus  
Adversis spatiis, alternisque orbibus orbes  
585 Impediunt, pugnaeque cient simulacra sub  
armis:

Et nunc terga fuga nudant, nunc spicula  
vertunt

Infensi, facta pariter nunc pace feruntur.

Ut quondam Creta fertur Labyrinthus in  
alta

Parietibus textum caecis iter, ancipitemque

590 Mille viis habuisse dolum, qua signa se-  
quendi

Falleret indeprensus et inremeabilis error:

Haud alio Teucrum nati vestigia cursu

Impediunt, texuntque fugas et proelia ludo;

Delphinum similes, qui per maria humida  
nando

595 Carpathium Libycumque secant luduntque  
per undas.

Passing over, for the moment, the difficulties of lines 560-562, we must now attempt to fit our figure to the description of the game proper. This can be done with the help of a brilliant suggestion of a young German scholar, H. von Petrikovits, published in *Klio* just before the war. The essence of his solution is to divide the boys at this moment, however they were arranged before, into two equal and opposing files. This is indicated by Virgil in (580 f.): *Olli discurrere pares, atque agmina terni Diductis solvere choris*. It is also suggested by the two riders depicted on the vase, and it seems to have been true of the historical performances (Suet. *Caes.* 39: *Troiam lusit turma duplex, maiorum minorumque puerorum*; cf. *Tib.* 6). Each file is now to move off, the traces of the horses' hoofs describing two continuous lines which, when completely woven together, will yield our figure.

The accompanying diagrams follow in general those of Von Petrikovits, except that I have elongated his circular form to suggest also the historical performances in the oval Circus, and have placed the cross down the middle of one side of the Circus, rather than at an end. One observes in the standard figure (e.g., fig. 10) that there are two sets of lines whose free ends are opposite each other. It does not matter whether we begin with the inner set or the outer set; the figure can be generated either way. Like Von Petrikovits, we will begin with the inner set, and we will choose to turn the lines so that the figure is

out of balance on the same side as on the Etruscan vase.

We assume, then, that the opposing files (fig. 11: *AX*, *xa*) have turned away from each other (*discurrere pares*, cf. *adversis spatiis*, 584) at the given signal. They ride off (*bb*), but, at another signal, they turn (*rursusque vocati convertere vias*) and now (*cc*) ride toward each other, brandishing their lances (*infestaque tela tulere*). But the files do not meet; they pass each other and begin another course (*alios ineunt cursus*: *dd*) and a second turn and charge (*aliosque recursus adversis spatiis*: *ee*).

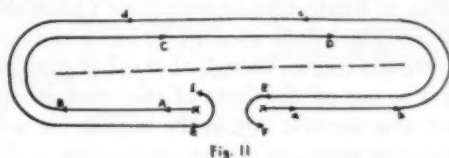


Fig. 11

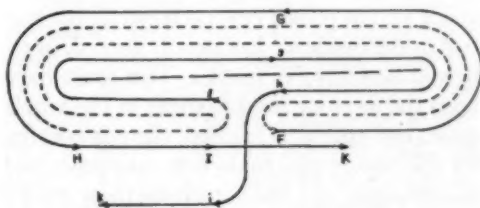


Fig. 12

FIGS. 11 AND 12. TROIAE LUSUS, OPENING PHASES

At this point complications begin. The inside file must turn outside (*ef*) and the outside file inside (*cf*), before the second phase of the figure can be generated (fig. 12), as circuit after circuit is woven together (*alternisque orbibus orbes impediunt*). Here Virgil evidently shrank from the task of following in detail the moving files. Instead, he gave three general views, first of the mimicry of war (585-587, cf. 593), second, of the labyrinthine figure generated by the horses' hoofs (588-593), third, of the sportive yet not aimless impression created by the moving lines, like dolphins playing in the sea and passing accurately through straits and shoals (594 f.). Regarding the first of these, we must note that already each of the three military operations mentioned by Virgil has been performed twice: *nunc* (*bb* and *dd*) *terga fuga nudant*,



nunc (cc and æe) spicula vertunt infensi, facta pariter nunc (cd = cd and ef = ef) pace feruntur; and there will be other moments in the succeeding phases when the same operations will recur, in the same order.

The first succeeding moment of "peace" comes at the points gg (fig. 12), but in the next circuit it is obvious that the file which is now outside, having a greater distance to traverse, will be no farther along than about point h while the inside file is completing its course at point h. Here, however, the inside file continues its flight by turning directly toward the outside and going on for some distance, at length turning once more to face the outside file, which meanwhile has continued its regular course, though now in hot pursuit, as if to cut off the flight of the other group. But now the first boy in the outside file will reach the point i only after the last boy in the inside file has passed beyond it, while the first boy in the inside file has already turned, in renewed hostility, at point i. This must have been the most exciting moment in the whole game, but once it is reached, there is nothing for the two groups to do but make peace and ride off again (kk), the outside file (now inside) cutting the tracks of the inside file to form the characteristic cross of our figure.

The dramatic movements in the last phase of the game (fig. 13) might vary somewhat,

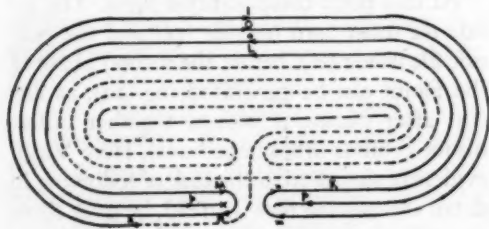


FIG. 13. TROIAE LUSUS, LAST PHASE

depending on whether we assume that both files continue at an even pace, as heretofore, or that the file which happens to be inside slows down, while the outside file speeds up, so as to make the moments of "flight," "attack," and "peace" correspond roughly to what they were in the first phases. Until actual experimentation with the game sug-

gests otherwise, we should probably adopt the second alternative. In that case, the moments of "peace" would come at ll, mn = mn, and oo, and the files would come to a halt, simultaneously, at px and xp, having reversed their positions from what they were at the beginning of the game, and having traced out on the arena what is unmistakably our figure.

There is space here only to suggest the very difficult problems raised by lines 560-562. Did Virgil's three squadrons, each divided into two lines, ride through the same figure successively? Or did the separate halves of the three squadrons combine in some way to form two long lines before riding through the single figure? Or were three figures generated simultaneously—literally a three-ring circus? Were there only three *ductores*, as Servius assumed? Or were there nine, as a strict interpretation of line 560 would seem to indicate? or six, i.e., three on each side of the advancing column, as Von Petrikovits argues? But Virgil subsequently names only three leaders. Until we can determine the number of *ductores*, the numerical information in line 561 is of no use to us. What was the function of these *ductores* in the game which followed, and how did they differ from the *magistri* mentioned in 562? Lastly, how shall we interpret *terni* again in line 580? Not even Von Petrikovits can give satisfactory answers to all these problems. One may be willing to allow for some discrepancy between a poet's description and historic actuality, but it would also be well to note that just before the publication of the vase from Tragliatella a British scholar had worked out on paper the evolutions described by Virgil, with results that are totally different from Von Petrikovits' figures. Still other interpretations are doubtless possible.

Nevertheless, I believe Von Petrikovits has given a striking demonstration of the applicability of the figure scratched on the Etruscan vase to the *Troiae lusus*, revealing it as a display of military horsemanship requiring great skill on the part of leaders in choosing the correct course and setting the proper pace, of the others in following both,



without deviation even under the stress of great excitement, and of all in performing turns quickly, accurately, and often in a narrow space. Some adaptation of the game, for modern students of Virgil (performing perhaps on skates!), might be almost as interesting to witness.

### An Amazing Figure

TO RETURN to the problem of diffusion, we may divide the occurrences of the figure into two groups, according to its social context. On the one hand, the figure is associated with the legendary labyrinth of Crete in a learned and artistic tradition. Chronologically, these occurrences run in an unbroken line from the fourth pre-Christian century to the beginning of the European Renaissance, and their local distribution is not hard to explain. On the other hand, the figure is associated with games and dances in what appears to be a popular tradition. Unfortunately, this tradition has two ends—both chronologically and locally—and no middle, so that there is some doubt whether it is a single tradition, after all. The name "Troy," occurring in this context at both extremes, has been thought to be a unifying element, but it must be observed that this name does not occur everywhere in the modern contexts, and that in antiquity it occurs only once in direct connection with the figure. Moreover, in this case—the Etruscan vase, by far our earliest direct evidence for the figure—Klausen's etymology forbids us to associate the word *truia* with the city *Troia*. All scholars have accepted this etymology, and indeed it seems necessary to use it in order to provide a connecting link between the two traditions in antiquity. But it leaves the question of the modern *Trojaburgen* more obscure than ever.

Looked at in this way, the problem seems insoluble. I would suggest that too much attention has been paid to the contexts in which the figure occurs, and not enough to the figure itself. How was it constructed? Roman boys may have generated the figure in their equestrian game, and Greek dancers of the "Crane" on Delos may have used it too, but surely the figure was not invented as a result of the

game or dance. The evolutions of the *Troiae lusui*, as worked out by Von Petrikovits, are too complicated and arbitrary to have produced this figure, by some process of trial and error. The figure must have been anterior to the game or dance. Yet it did not really represent the labyrinth either. Therefore the known social contexts in which the figure was used do not explain its essential nature. If only we could show that the figure itself was readily learned (even by children, as indeed Pliny's words and perhaps the graffito at Pompeii suggest) and easily communicated, independent of any association with a formal game or dance or artistic tradition, then the problem of its diffusion would be much simpler.

### "The Walls of Troy"

HERE WE must return to Mr. Colton's important article. He relates that after a previously published discussion, some years before, of the Casa Grande labyrinth, he received a letter from an agricultural expert, then at Washington, but one who had been brought up in the mountains of Tennessee. This correspondent said that he was familiar with the design, having in his youth played a game called the "Walls of Troy." He enclosed drawings revealing the construction of the figure. These Mr. Colton published, and I, in turn, have adapted them to show some of the historical variants as well as the basic design.

This, what we might call the "core" of the figure, is most easily visualized (fig. 14) as a cross, with angles inserted in each quadrant, and a dot in each corner. With the ends of the lines, the dots form sixteen points, which I have numbered for ease of reference. If now any two consecutive points are connected by a line of any shape, curved, straight, or angular, and then the next point on one side of these two is connected with the next point on the other side by a line of similar shape, and so on regularly until all eight pairs of points have been connected, a series of roughly parallel lines will be generated which, together with the central cross, will invariably form a unicursal labyrinth of the now familiar

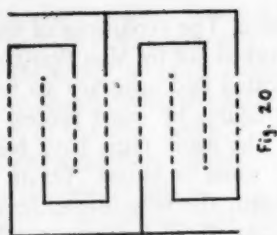


Fig. 20

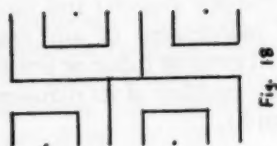


Fig. 18

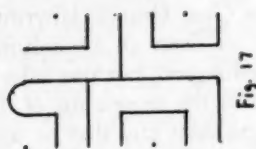


Fig. 17

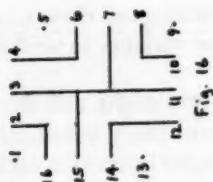


Fig. 16

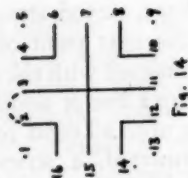


Fig. 14

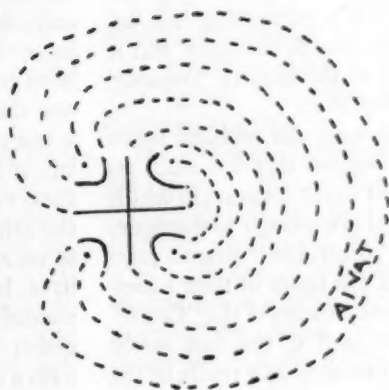


Fig. 15

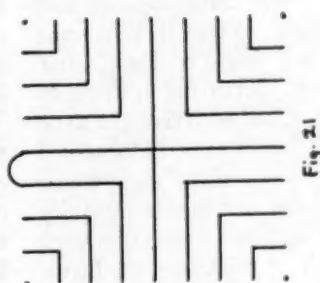


Fig. 21

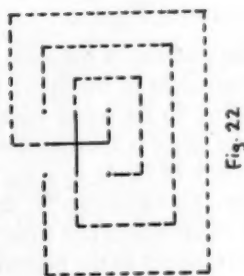


Fig. 22

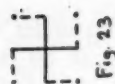


Fig. 23

# LABYRINTH OR TROY TOWN?

FIGURES 14-15-16-17-18-20-21-22-23

type (cf. the remarks on fig. 5). The center or goal of the labyrinth will lie between the points first connected, and its entrance diametrically opposite. Most modern examples begin by connecting points 2 and 3, then 1 and 4, 16 and 5, and so on, until the entrance lies between points 10 and 11.

We first illustrate (fig. 15) a rough facsimile of the figure on the Etruscan vase (cf. fig. 10). If the lettering supplies a reliable indication of the figure's orientation, its center may be described as lying between points 10 and 11, with the entrance between points 2 and 3. The entrance of the figure on the Cnossian coins (fig. 1) is on the same side, but lies between points 3 and 4. Here the lines toward the outside of the figure are cleverly spaced so as to compensate for the figure's inherent lack of balance. The Pompeian *graffito* (fig. 5) has the same orientation as that on the Cnossian coins, but the lines are angular and the figure decidedly out of balance.

At length some ingenious person discovered that the exterior of the figure could be made perfectly symmetrical by giving up the central cross and adopting instead a staggered arrangement of the horizontal lines (fig. 16). Thus we may derive a skeleton for the attractive design known as "Caerdroia" (fig. 6) by extending the lower half of the staggered cross to a baseline, leaving an entrance between points 10 and 11, and forming an apse for the center between points 2 and 3 (fig. 17). By also extending the upper half of the staggered cross in the same way (fig. 18), we derive the axial arrangement of the figure known as "Domus Dedali" (cf. fig. 4). This arrangement is important, because it led to the development of figures with more than one radial axis, suitable for mosaic work designed for a floor or courtyard, which preferably should be capable of giving pleasure no matter from which side it was viewed. The figures just mentioned, admirable as they are, do not meet this condition, for on three sides they offer nothing but lines running parallel with the circumference, so that interest is concentrated on the remaining side with its peculiar arrangement of lines about a radial

axis. The extant examples of these figures, moreover, are quite late, but the axial arrangement (fig. 18) must have been known in antiquity, for we do find mosaics of the late Roman period which exhibit very remarkable multi-axial designs based on the old figure of the labyrinth, for example, one (fig. 19) from the ancient Hadrumetum, near Sousse in

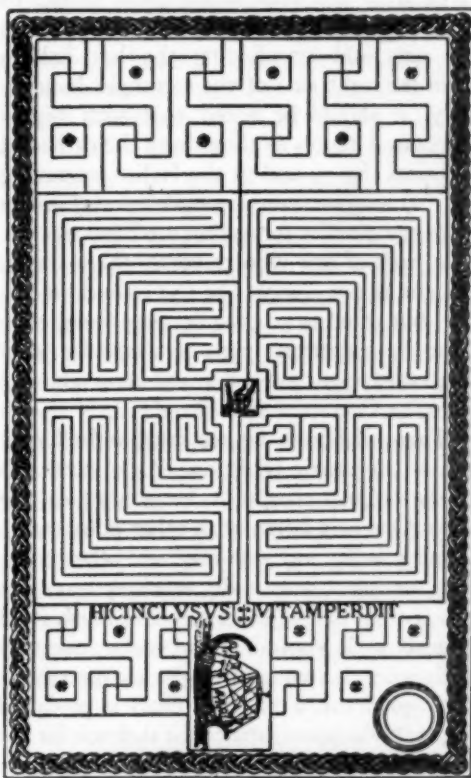


FIG. 19. MOSAIC FROM SOUSSE  
(MATTHEWS, FIG. 37)

Tunisia. Meyer has shown how such figures were developed from a unicursal labyrinth of rectangular shape, which he referred to as a double meander-turn (fig. 20), by adding connecting lanes at the top or side (or both, as in fig. 19). As a matter of fact, Meyer believed that it was this rectangular figure (which does resemble a complex of meanders, if one concentrates on the lanes to be traversed, rather than the barriers) which was the basis for

all the labyrinthine figures, including the one on the Cnossian coins. He did not know of the Etruscan vase, which makes his theory very difficult chronologically, and unfortunately he did not know of the simpler construction of the cruciform figure. His "double meander-turn" (fig. 20), however, is important as an intermediate stage in the development of multi-axial figures, and it can be derived from the axial arrangement of fig. 18 quite simply, by splitting this design down the axis and transferring the left half to form the right side of the rectangle. Incidentally, it should be noted that such highly elaborated figures as those from the cathedral at Lucca (fig. 3) and in the Italian engraving (fig. 2) cannot have been developed solely from the simpler forms that we have treated. The path of one who traverses these Italian designs is not always like the classical meander, but often is a zigzag or serpentine; compare the serpentine path of a circular labyrinth with eight axes on a well-known mosaic found at Cormerod in Switzerland.

These elaborate figures must indeed constitute an artistic tradition. Many variations of the original cruciform design are also possible. One may begin with other points (e.g., 4 and 5 in fig. 14), one may add other cross-bars, or insert more radii, one may leave out the bottom half of the figure and finish it off instead with a spiral. In particular, one may add angles. If two extra angles are inserted in each quadrant, a 32-point cross is produced (fig. 21) which constitutes the skeleton for the turf-maze known as "Troy Town" (compare the white portions of fig. 7). If one extra angle is inserted in each quadrant, the resulting figure will duplicate the stone-set maze at Visby; but though the number of angles in one quadrant must equal the number in one adjoining quadrant, the two together may have more angles than the third and fourth quadrants. The possibilities are almost infinite, but if one searches through such a well-illustrated handbook as Matthews' *Mazes and Labyrinths*, he will discover that comparatively few of them have actually been used. Here we have one more fact which seems to indicate that the modern turf-mazes

and stone-set labyrinths do belong to a separate tradition, one that was simpler, less artistic, and more truly popular than the other.

### *Puerorum Ludicra*

AGAIN we are faced with the problem of our two traditions, but now the solution which shall join them is close at hand. Mr. Colton's correspondent did not explain what the action of his boyhood game, called the "Walls of Troy," was, but it was probably nothing more than the activity of the shepherd-boys of Wales or the schoolboys of Scotland who, in former days, amused themselves with the figure and puzzled their friends. Records of these earlier informal games do not show the construction of the figure, but fortunately there is direct testimony to knowledge of it on the part of children in Finland—quite a different quarter. As early as 1877, a Finnish scholar, J. R. Aspelin, published an account of a simple drawing-game, the object of which was to produce our figure, with a sketch showing the same 16-point cross constructed by Mr. Colton's informant. The construction of the figure itself, then, must have been the chief point of the game.

Doubtless one boy would show the figure, cut in turf or traced in sand or drawn on a slate, to another boy, not initiated in the secret of the figure's construction. He would point out the center or goal, and the entrance, then challenge the other boy to find his way from one point to the other. This would be easy, but then the other boy would be asked to reproduce the figure, or improve upon it. Not many could do this, unless shown, but probably the secret was shared only with a few specially favored friends.

Doubtless, too, the first boy would try to increase the figure's mystery by saying that it represented some definite object, drawn of course from legend or folk-lore, and preferably one invested with the age-old complementary ideas of penetration and exclusion. The walls of Troy would serve excellently, but so too would the walls of many other cities famous in legend: Jericho, or Babylon, or Nineveh. Even the heavenly city could be used: in Finland the figure is sometimes called



"St. Peter's Game." Myth would supply such names as "Giant's Fence," "Maiden's Bower," or "Maiden's Dance," the last two adding the element of a romantic quest. And of course the Cretan labyrinth would inevitably suggest itself to those who knew that legend. We should expect this rather from the people of antiquity, but it is notable that in Aspelin's account the Finnish game was called, "To Draw a Labyrinth."

What I would suggest, in short, is not merely that, as Mr. Colton acutely remarked, the secret of the figure's construction has been responsible for its continuity of form through so many centuries and over such wide areas, but that in origin the figure was nothing more than a tricky and amazing design. It was not derived from a formal game or dance—note that on the Etruscan vase (fig. 10) the figure is not constructed from the free ends, in the manner Von Petrikovits has suggested, but very clearly from the central cross—but it was soon put to that use by dance-loving people. It did not represent the labyrinth of legend, but it was soon used to illustrate it. It was simply a figure known and spread by children (*puerorum ludicris campestribus*) and other ingenious people.

In itself the figure had no esoteric symbolic meaning, but in the games of boys its interest was enhanced by referring it to legendary or mythical types containing the ideas of penetration or exclusion. In antiquity this condition was usually met by the Cretan labyrinth, but it is not certain that this was the only association which the figure enjoyed. The earliest Cretan coins exhibiting the figure date from the fourth century, about at the time when Dicaearchus (cf. *Plut. Thes.* 21) was comparing the "Crane" dance to the labyrinth. The Etruscan vase dates from the seventh century, at a time when we do not know certainly that the legend of the labyrinth had even taken verbal form. It is at least arguable, then, that the word *TRUIA* scratched on the vase was intended to refer to the city, as the same word certainly does in other Etruscan inscriptions. If Benndorf was right, moreover, in thinking that the *χορός* which Daedalus designed for Ariadne

was a dancing-floor, and had this figure traced upon it, then we would have a third association in antiquity, perhaps a century earlier than the Etruscan vase. At least the chronology is consistent with a theory of varying associations for the figure in antiquity. Later on, after the legend of the labyrinth became more familiar, it was associated with our figure, and proved to be so appropriate that it crowded out the other associations, at least in the learned and artistic tradition which lived on through the middle ages. But in the Renaissance and modern times, as knowledge of the figure's construction passed to less learned classes (if it was not still alive there), this association was not so attractive as many others that suggested themselves.

One final observation may be made. The simplest form of the figure is that which omits all the angles, leaving only an 8-point cross. A not unattractive unicursal maze can be based on this design (fig. 22). I do not know of any historical example of such a figure, but merely note that the 8-point cross is also the basis for another and very familiar design (fig. 23). We must allow at least a century or two before the date of the Etruscan vase for the figure to have been invented, carried from Asia Minor to Italy, and applied to a game or dance. Perhaps, then, it was invented by Anatolian artists experimenting with meander and swastika, in the period corresponding to the Dark Ages in Greece (1000-750 B.C.).

#### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

FOR MOST READERS the most accessible source of further information on these topics is the article by Harold S. COLTON, "Troy Town on the Hopi Mesas," *The Scientific Monthly* 58 (1944) 129-134. Still popular, but much more commodious and very generously illustrated is the book by W. H. MATTHEWS, *Mazes and Labyrinths* (London, 1922), which includes a bibliography running to twenty pages.

The more serious student should continue with the fundamental paper by Wilhelm MEYER (we need no longer add, *aus Speyer*), "Ein Labyrinth mit Versen," published in the *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. u. hist. Classe der k. b. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München* 1882.2.267-300, with a "Nachtrag," 400. Refer-



ences to earlier articles of importance, such as the one by E. TROLLOPE, "Notices of Ancient and Mediaeval Labyrinths," *The Archaeological Journal* 15 (1858) 216-235, will be found in Meyer and Matthews. Of the many articles since Meyer's, the most important are:

Otto BENNDORF, "Kunsthistorische Ergänzungen . . ." (to M. Büdinger, "Die römische Spiele und der Patriciat"), *Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Classe der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften* 123 (Wien, 1891) 3.47-55, also published in an appendix to W. Reichel, *Über Homerische Waffen* (Vienna, 1894), 133 ff.

Three articles in the *Real-Encyclopädie*: "Daidalos," by C. Robert, who objects to Benndorf's argument on χορός in *Il.* 18.590; "Labyrinthos," by Humborg, Karo, and Kees (Humborg and Karo provide an excellent summary of the various theories, down to 1924, concerning the "real" Cretan labyrinth); "Lusus Troiae," by K. Schneider (excellent summary, to 1926, and discussion of the evidence).

Richard WINTER, "Das Labyrinth in Tanz und Spiel," *Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung* 5 (1929) 707-720. Discussing the diffusion of the figure, Winter argues that it must have been spread from southern to northern Europe.

G. Q. Giglioli, "L'oinochoe di Tragliatella," *Studi Etruschi* 3 (1929) 111-159. An elaborate and definitive study of the Etruscan vase, with excellent plates. Initial publication of the vase was made by Helbig, *Bulletino dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, 1881, 66 f. and Deecke, *Annali dell' Inst.* 53 (1881) 160 ff. I have accepted Giglioli's dating of the vase and his opinion that the scenes are probably not related to each other.

Lars-Ivar Ringbom, "Trojalek och Tranedans," *Finskt Museum* 45 (1938) 68-106. Important particularly for its collection of material on Germanic, Scandinavian, Finnish, and Russian examples of the figure, for the games and dances connected with it, and for the reference, including a figure, to ASPELIN's significant contribution. Ringbom, through whom alone I know of this contribution, gives the reference as follows: J. R. Aspelin, "Jatulintarhat Suomen rantamailla," *Finska Fornminnesföreningens tidskrift* 2 (1877). While recognizing the importance of the simple construction of the figure illustrated by Aspelin, Ringbom develops a theory of his own: Daedalus invented the figure, drawing spirals with the aid of a primitive string-compass, which he had also invented; Ariadne's dance (*Il.* 18.590 ff.), also

the Delian "Crane" dance, were performed with the aid of ropes attaching the dancers individually to a pole or person in the center of the figure, much in the manner of our modern May-pole dances; the string-compass and the rope-dancers are to be compared to Ariadne's clue in the legend. This is ingenious; but Homer says clearly (18.594) that the dancers held each other by the wrist, and they are thus represented both on the François vase and one in Munich, in scenes which are usually referred to the "Crane" dance; see Fritz Weege, *Der Tanz in der Antike* (Halle-Saale, 1926) 61 f. and figs. 75 and 74. When Ringbom goes on, in an effort to link up the *Troiae lusus* with mediaeval jousting, to suggest that the boys playing *Troia* also used ropes, like the Greek dancers, and furthermore attempted to unseat each other by hooking the rope over an opponent passing between them and the central pole, his figures illustrating the games and dances and his theory alike become grotesque.

H. VON PETRIKOVITS, "*Troiae lusus*," *Klio* 32 (1939) 209-220. The latter part of this article cites alleged evidence for the continued existence of the game, though in slightly altered form, in the fourth Christian century and later, and in the middle ages in the form known as "Bohurt." But the most striking part of the evidence consists of similarities between the later descriptions and Virgil's passage, which may indicate nothing more than literary borrowing; and in any case none of the later passages refers to *Troia* or *Troiae lusus* by name.

The BRITISH SCHOLAR who attempted to work out the evolutions of the game was F. P. Simpson, "Vergili Trojamentum. *Aen.* v. 560-587," *Journal of Philology* 9 (1880) 101-108.

The theory of a NORDIC ORIGIN of the figure and of the legend of Troy was presented at length in a series of books by Ernst Krause (Carus Sterne): *Tuiskoland der Arischen Stämme und Götter Urheimat* (Glogau, 1891); *Die Trojaburgen Nordeuropas, ihr Zusammenhang mit der indogermanischen Trojasage von der entführten und gefangenen Sonnenfrau (Syrith, Brunhild, Ariadne, Helena), den Trojaspielden, Schwert- und Labyrinthtänzen zur Feier ihrer Lenzbefreiung. Nebst Vorwort über den deutschen Gelehrtehdünkel* (Glogau, 1893); *Die nordische Herkunft der Trojasage bezeugt durch den Krug von Tragliatella, eine dritthalbtausend-jährige Urkunde. Nachtrag zu den Trojaburgen Nordeuropas* (Glogau, 1893). Merely to cite the full titles of these books is sufficiently revealing; for a more detailed critique, see the review by

F. Duemmler in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 15 (1895) 816-820. Incidentally, Krause believed that our figure was derived from certain prehistoric rock-engravings, exhibiting sets of concentric circles often split by radial lines, found particularly in northern England. His method of deriving the figure is too arbitrary to be convincing (see Ringbom 71 and fig. 3, also Matthews, figs. 129, 130 and 138, 139). On the other hand, ANDREW LANG, in the very essay whose opening sentence we have quoted, showed that the design of the rock-engravings was certainly not "Nordic"; see his chapter, "Cup and Ring: an Old Problem Solved," pages 241-256 in his book, *Magic and Religion* (London, 1901), the cover of which is embellished with this same design.

Many other maze-like designs are known from many parts of the world, including ancient Crete, Egypt, and Mesopotamia, and many other scholars have been tempted to connect these with the legendary Cretan labyrinth and with our figure. But inasmuch as these scholars, not knowing the simple construction of our figure, fail to distinguish between it and the chronologically earlier or culturally more "primitive" designs, their theories, which often suggest interpretations of the meanings of the designs as symbols, have no bearing on the problem of diffusion discussed in this paper. For fair samples of their methods and results, and for references to further studies, see the articles by W. F. J. Knight, "Maze Symbolism and the Trojan Game," *Antiquity* 6 (1932) 445-458, "Myth and Legend at Troy," *Folk-Lore* 46 (1935) 98-121; by Mrs. C. N. Deedes, "The Labyrinth," the first essay in a book of essays edited by S. H. Hooke and published, under the same title, at London in 1935; and by John Layard, "Maze-Dances and the Ritual of the Labyrinth in Malekula," *Folk-Lore* 47 (1936) 123-170.

I have not seen the following two studies, reported in part by Professor Knight: Richard Eilmann, *Labyrinthos* (Athens, 1931); F. Müller, Jzn., "De beteekenis van het Labyrinth," *Mededeelingen d. K. Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, Deel 78, Serie B, No. 1* (Amsterdam, 1934).

I have seen, but am not yet ready to comment on (see Knight in *Folk-Lore* 46.106, 112, 117 f. and Layard *ibid.* 47.129 f.) the massive work of Herman Güntert, "Labyrinth. Eine sprachwissenschaftliche Untersuchung," *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse* 231 (1932-1933) 1, except to note

that far-reaching conclusions as to the existence and spread of a prehistoric megalithic people, who were acquainted with our figure, are based on the very debatable evidence of various etymologies.

KLAUSEN's etymology, by the way, was published in his book, *Aeneas und die Penaten*, 2 (Hamburg-Gotha, 1840) 823. It seems due for re-examination.

For Scotch children playing with the "walls of Troy," see Edmund Venables in *Notes and Queries*, 8th series, 4 (1893) 96, and for the Welsh shepherds, Matthews, 93 f.

## MEETINGS

### CAMWS-SOUTHERN SECTION

Dr. Arthur H. Moser, president of the Southern Section of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, announces that there was no Thanksgiving meeting of the section this fall since the parent association is meeting in Southern territory (Nashville) next spring (April 3-5, 1947). It is anticipated, however, that a meeting will be held in the fall of 1947 at Thanksgiving time.

### CANE-CONNECTICUT SECTION

The annual meeting of the Connecticut Section of the Classical Association of New England was held on the campus of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., on October 19.

The morning session opened with greetings extended by Professor Karl P. Harrington of Wesleyan University, to which Professor Josephine P. Bree responded on behalf of the association, as section president. The following papers were then presented: "Latin for Whom?" Miss Margaret H. Croft of Crosby High School, Waterbury; "The Theban Eagle in English Plumage," Professor Reuben A. Brower, Amherst College; "The Transfiguration of the Sibyl," Professor Cornelia-C. Coulter, Mt. Holyoke College.

Following luncheon, the sessions resumed with a paper by Professor Edwin L. Minar, Jr., of Connecticut College, "Parmenides in the World of Seeming," followed by "The Monaseries of Subiaco," Dr. Claude W. Barlow, Yale University; "The State Latin Contest," Miss Carrie P. McDonald, Windham High School, Willimantic.

## OSTREA INFELIX

**B**ENE QUÆRITUR in vita ostreae quae sit voluptas. Uno partu cum quingenis milibus nata atque in aquam temere eiecta, amorem matris ignorat. Huc illuc per pueritiam semestrem aestibus circumvecta, tandem in vado considit nec postea se removet. Sedet aeternumque sedebit sicut Theseus Vergilianus. Amoenitatem marinam circumspicere nequit, quod oculos non habet. Vita est una nox perpetua, sicut Orci. Neque surros zephyrorum neque undarum risus neque murmur caeli audire potest, quod aures non habet. Vita est unum silentium perpetuum. Olfacere nequit, quod nasum non habet. Sensum autem tactus habet, quod, si tangas, valvas firme occludit. Quin etiam, si forte granum acutum in carne inhaesit, suco suo perfundit, unde margarita fit. Itaque quod alicui Cleopatrae, gemma pulchra, ostreae ipsi remedium doloris ventris est.

Tota quidem venter est. Decet igitur ut in ventres hominum tandem perveniat, ubi est radix omnis voluptatis. Iam a principio cultus humani nutrimentum praebuit. Adhuc tamen multi sunt qui conspectu horum animalium innocuorum ventrem se evertere sentiant. Pretium igitur operae est cogitare quanta audacitas illi esset qui primus, fame fortasse coactus, rem tam foedam devoraverit. Quem mortis gradum timuit qui primus, siccis oculis manibusque uvidis, istud corpusculum madidum, pallidum languidumque per fauces demisit? Incertus enim an mors veneno immineret periculum tamen sustinuit. Scilicet nomen eius obscuritate interiit sed quis umquam dignior fuit cuius pectori princeps non ingratus bullam honorariam affigeret? Periculo suo atque audacius quam quod officium postulavit et salutem et voluptatem humanam promovit.

ANON

## —Notes

## SIMONIDES AND EMILY DICKINSON

**A**MONG the new poems of Emily Dickinson "released" some months ago by Mabel L. Todd and her daughter, Millicent T. Bingham (*Bolts of Melody*, Harper, 1945) is one of interest to readers of the Classics. It is based on Simonides' famous epigram on the Spartans who fell at Thermopylae:

ὦ ξείν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίους ὅτι τῇδε  
κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

Cicero's translation is well-known (*Tusc.* I. 101):

Dic, hospes, Spartae nos te hic vidisse iacentes,  
Dum sanctis patriae legibus obsequimur.

Emily's poem (withheld, along with hundreds

of others for almost fifty years by the editors mentioned above—none too honorably, according to Prof. George F. Whicher in "In Emily Dickinson's Garden," *Atlantic Monthly*, Feb. 1946, p. 66) is as follows:

"GO TELL it"—what a message!  
To whom is specified.  
Not murmur, not endearment,  
But simply we obeyed—

Obeys a lure, a longing?  
Oh, Nature, none of this!  
"To law," said sweet Thermopylae,  
"Convey my dying kiss."

RALPH MARCELLINO

Brooklyn College

# A Project For The Translation of Roman Law

An Abridgement of a Prospectus by Clyde Pharr, Theresa Sherrer  
Davidson and Mary Brown Pharr, Vanderbilt University

## Scope of the Project

THE FOLLOWING is the outline of our plan for the collection, translation, and annotation of all the source material of Roman law.

Much of this material is widely scattered and some of it is hidden in publications that are inaccessible to most scholars, but we are employing every possible effort to make the collection exhaustive and to include all the extant source material. Such a comprehensive collection of this material has never before been attempted. When completed it will form a reliable and an authoritative *Corpus Juris Romani*, and it will embrace at least the following:

1. Bruns, *Fontes Iuris Romani*.
2. Other inscriptional material.
3. Pre-Justinian collections of Roman jurisprudence.
4. The Theodosian Code and Novels.
5. Other Pre-Justinian legislation.
6. The *Corpus Juris Civilis*.
7. The more important material culled from the classical authors, such as Cicero, Pliny, and Aulus Gellius.
8. Material from the papyri.

## Special Features

WHEN IT IS FINISHED according to our plan, the work will consist of five parts:

(1) An edition of all the Greek and Latin source material, in a critical text, as reliable as can be produced in the present state of the evidence. (2) An English translation as it is worked out and agreed upon by a group of competent philologists and jurists. When published, this translation will be so arranged that it will face the Latin or Greek text, page by page, as is done in the Loeb Classical Library or in the Collection des Universités de France, as published under the patronage of

ED. NOTE: We recommend this prospectus to all teachers who are interested in the continuity of the cultural tradition and the influence of Roman civilization upon our own. In Latin teaching we have tended to emphasize the tradition of arts and letters, with a side-glance at the Roman constitution and our own. But here we have material that is rich in social implications, for we seldom emphasize the fact that democracy is law, and law is Roman law. Even the English common law, which is Anglo-Saxon in origin, has been shaped through the centuries by the interpretations of judges who were learned in the Roman law.

the Association Guillaume Budé. It would then be possible to use the same plates to publish the original Greek and Latin texts and the translation separately, also, if that should prove to be desirable. (3) Variant translations of all passages on which there may be a difference of opinion among competent scholars as to the proper interpretation. Thus we shall produce a variorum translation which will attempt to include every important interpretation, past and present, of this material. (4) Brief explanatory and interpretative annotations, both legal and historical, for the whole of the work. (5) Exhaustive indexes and cross references, covering a great variety of subjects. The indexes will contain not only all the references to a given subject but will give some indication of the nature of the material to be found under the various headings, thus serving as a sort of digest of the whole work.

If it can be satisfactorily completed, such a work will be of inestimable value and it should be of great worth as long as modern



civilization endures. It would furnish a convenient, a reliable and an indispensable tool for scholars working in many fields. It is generally recognized that the great mass of Roman law was one of the most important contributions made by classical antiquity to later generations. This contribution has been of continuous importance in the history of civilization and has molded the legal and political institutions of a great part of the medieval and modern world. Furthermore, an enormous amount of information—social, economic, and political, as well as legal—is embodied in the writings of the Roman jurists and legislators. This material is of fundamental importance to students of comparative jurisprudence, of sociology, political science, history, and economics. An intimate acquaintance with it is requisite for all students of the later Roman empire, a period which is one of the most instructive in all history and one which contains many significant lessons for our times. A knowledge of Roman law is also essential for any serious research in the history and development of international law. Men like Grotius and Gentilis and other great "founders" of international law were learned civilians—or experts in the civil law. Canon law also represents a direct outgrowth and a specialized development of certain essential features of Roman law. Through various channels, including canon law, Roman law has considerably influenced our own Anglo-American law.

### *Contemporary Value*

SUCH A COLLECTION, translation, and annotation of all the source material of Roman law at present would be very timely. America is now a leading and an influential member of a world society, the greater part of which bases many of its legal, political, and other institutions on the old Roman law. With the exception of the English-speaking countries which use the Anglo-American common law, all important countries of the world have either inherited or adopted the Roman law and the later civil law as a foundation for their legal systems. Most of these coun-

tries also base their political and other institutions on the old Roman law.

The proper approach to an adequate understanding of the civil law is through a study of the Roman law, from which all modern civil law systems are derived. Indeed, where the law has not been reduced to a code, as in Scotland and South Africa, the *Corpus Juris Civilis* of Justinian may still be cited as authority. Consequently, as a modern text book on the subject affirms:

"Assuming that the student has a fair knowledge of the leading principles of Roman law, and comprehends the meaning of its technical terms, he may read the Codes of France, Canada, Louisiana and Spain with interest and understanding."

And to that list may be added the codes of all the countries which have been derived from those mentioned and from the German Code. Even without having read the modern codes, one who knows the principles of Roman law will recognize as familiar many institutions of a modern civil law country, when he comes in contact with them. Hence we believe that the work which is now being undertaken in connection with this project will be of great value in helping the English-speaking peoples to a fuller and more sympathetic understanding and appreciation of the laws and institutions of other countries, and particularly of the Latin American countries with which we can and must cooperate more and more in the future. For that reason, among many others, we have undertaken this work, and because of our highly specialized training, extending over a number of years, we believe that we can render a unique service in the present emergency by preparing as soon as possible a comprehensive collection, with a satisfactory translation and annotation of the entire body of Roman law, so that this material may be readily available to all students, whether or not they are highly specialized Greek and Latin scholars.

If we are to make effective our Good Neighbor Policy in our dealings with Latin American countries we must do more than exchange goods with them. Commercial transactions, however mutually profitable, will not alone suffice to draw us closer to-



gether. We must also understand their civilization and the fundamental bases of their institutions. For any sound development of such an understanding, a working knowledge of Roman law is indispensable. The same is of course true in a general way of the institutions of all other leading countries. Even countries as far removed from Roman civilization as Russia and Japan have based their law codes on the old Roman law.

The Romans compiled and codified their law so methodically, logically, and effectively that their system has served as a model for all countries that have decided to avail themselves of a thoroughgoing codification. In this country the American Law Institute is making a sound beginning of a somewhat similar process and it is laying a scientific foundation for future fruitful developments in its very able compilations and clarifications known as the *Restatement of the Law*. This work has been under way for some twenty years and has enlisted the active support of America's leading jurists and legal scholars. Those who are responsible for this work are finding that the models set by the Roman law are exceedingly helpful, and many of our best legal minds are convinced that the present confused and unwieldy condition of much of our American law could be greatly remedied and clarified by a systematic study and comparison of the great legal system of the Romans.

### *Reasons for Urgency*

AS INDICATED above, the present international situation makes this project both timely and urgent. Furthermore, from the point of view of scholarly equipment, the present is a most opportune time for such an enterprise to be undertaken. If current educational trends continue for the next few years, as well they may, the present generation of Latin scholars is much better equipped to do this work than the following generations are likely to be. It is quite possible that twenty-five years from now such an undertaking will be quite impracticable, or that, if done at all, it will not be done satisfactorily.

At present the source material of Roman law is scattered in a number of publications. Many of these publications are expensive and

hard to find. Others are out of print and no longer obtainable. There are very few adequate collections in this country and it is becoming increasingly difficult for anyone to work in Roman law at all unless he is so situated that he may have constant use of one of the great collections of this material, such as may be found in the Library of Congress or in the libraries of the law schools of Harvard, Columbia, or the University of California. The major part of the source material for Roman law has never been translated into English, and very little of it has ever been adequately annotated. Some of the most important parts have never been translated into any language. As a consequence the body of Roman law is not readily available in a reliable form to many modern scholars. A rough calculation would indicate that the amount of printed matter to be translated is three or four times as much as that contained in the King James Version of the English Bible. A limited amount of translation of this material into English has already been done, and some of it has been done exceptionally well. This includes the *Institutes of Gaius* and *Justinian*, parts of the *Digest*, and other scattered items. But even these texts and translations should be revised, wherever necessary, at least to the point of introducing important variorum renderings. Evidently the necessary annotations should be added as well as the most important variant readings from the manuscripts.

### *Present Condition of the Material*

FORTUNATELY the texts of most of the sources of Roman law are relatively sound and reliable. This is particularly true in the case of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, whose text compares very favorably with those of our best classical authors. But the *Theodosian Code* and *Novels* and some of the papyri are in a less satisfactory condition. Here there is still much uncertainty and much remains to be done. Textual studies, combined with intensive work on the problems of interpretation, now promise to produce texts that will be much more reliable than any that are now available.

The advantages of a *variorum* translation for a work of this kind are evident. In the first place all scholars recognize the inadequacy of any translation from one language into another. Moreover the difficulties and insufficiencies of a translation are greatly increased when the two languages are very different in genius and structure, if they are greatly separated in time, or if they represent different types of civilization. Such differences are found in a marked degree in the civilization and language of the ancient Romans as contrasted with the civilization and languages of the modern world. As a consequence, any scholarly translator always recognizes the possibility of other interpretations besides his own, and he would readily admit that many of his words and phrases might be rendered in other ways that would substantially change the sense. Hence the necessity of a *variorum* translation, especially in the case of material of the nature of Roman law where it is essential to consider the various possibilities of interpretation as well as the one interpretation which the majority of competent scholars regard as most suitable. From a *variorum* translation of this kind anyone who can read English intelligently might get a better grasp of the meaning than could an ordinary Latin scholar who had not devoted much thought and many years of specialized study to Roman law. In fact such a translation should be of distinct service even to highly trained specialists in this field, since they would have before them for comparison the various possibilities of interpretation suggested by the most competent scholars, both past and present. In the *variorum* translation as it is now being prepared, the body of the text contains the translation which the editorial board considers the most appropriate, while the variant translations appear as notes at the foot of the page. For a great mass of the material the differences in meaning are slight and of little real consequence. But the employment of variant words and phrases for a given statement will often prevent confusion and errors from arising, such as easily take place when a translation is being studied by anyone who is not familiar with the lan-

guage of the original documents and sources.

After considerable discussion with scholars throughout the country we have adopted an editorial organization and a procedure which should insure the satisfactory completion of this work. It has seemed best to concentrate the more active editorial work in one place and to organize a general editorial board, on which we are to serve, Clyde Pharr in the capacity of General Editor, Theresa Sherrer Davidson as Associate Editor, and Mary Brown Pharr as Assistant Editor. Most, if not all, of the translations, annotations and indexes, are to be prepared under our direct supervision.

Though many scholars will cooperate with us in this undertaking, we have organized the project in such a way that in its final form the work will have the necessary uniformity of language, style, and treatment. Owing to the great mass of material and its varied nature, the editorial work is very heavy and it will require some years for its satisfactory completion.

In addition to the contribution made by our own work as full-time editors, we have the active cooperation of a number of leading specialists in this field who are serving as a Board of Consulting Editors. They criticize our manuscripts and offer suggestions, especially as to translation and as to additional annotations.

In addition to the Board of Consulting Editors we have the help of a large number of prominent scholars, distributed over the country, who have agreed to act as Editorial Readers. The classification of Editorial Readers has been devised to meet the situation which has developed from many requests to collaborate in this enterprise. We hope that it will be possible to extend considerably the list of Editorial Readers, and to include all competent scholars who may wish to participate in this work. The collaboration of these distinguished scholars augurs well for the satisfactory completion of this undertaking. These scholars have indicated not only their willingness but their desire to participate actively in this enterprise. This may be regarded as the highest possible testimony to

the essential value of the project and as the best guarantee of the scholarly quality of the work when completed. Among this group of scholars are to be found every first-class specialist in Roman law in America and the most distinguished of our ancient historians who have made a special study of the later Roman Empire.

Our working procedure, as now established, is as follows. As rapidly as we are able to complete portions of our work, we mimeograph copies of them and we distribute them as widely as practicable to our Board of Consulting Editors, Editorial Readers, and all other competent scholars who may wish to examine them. The Consulting Editors and many of the Editorial Readers are finding time to favor us with a mass of exceedingly helpful criticisms, in spite of the fact that all of them are very busy with their own professional duties and most of them have important research projects of their own under way. After the Consulting Editors and Editorial Readers have submitted their criticisms and suggestions, as General Editors we undertake a complete revision in the light of the criticisms and suggestions offered. After we have submitted a second draft of all this material to the Consulting Editors and Editorial Readers and have obtained their further criticisms and suggestions, a final revision is made and the material is prepared for publication. This undertaking is thus made cooperative on as extensive a scale as possible, and we are taking every possible precaution to guarantee that the results will be satisfactory, so that the work will not have to be done over again in the near future. A work of this kind is worthless unless it is meticulously accurate and reliable in every detail. Thus a comparatively recent attempt to translate the *Corpus Juris Civilis* and some other material has been so poorly done that it is thoroughly untrustworthy and as a consequence it is quite valueless. The author was not a Latin scholar and he seems to have been unaware of all the modern research of Mommsen, Krueger, and their school, in the establishment of critical texts. As a consequence, palpable errors of both text and translation

are to be found on every page of his work.

The following statements by eminent jurists and scholars will give some indication of the basic importance of Roman law studies. These quotations have been selected from a larger body of comments which will be furnished on request.

Roscoe Pound, Harvard University Law School:

Today creative juristic activity is again in order. The Anglo-American legal materials have once more to be reexamined, reappraised and often reshaped. The problem of adapting our nineteenth century law to the exigencies of the society of the twentieth century is not unlike that of receiving the law of seventeenth and eighteenth century England as a law for America, taking over what was applicable and developing what was to be our own law on that basis. Hence it is not an accident that comparative law, after two generations of quiescence, is beginning to take on a new life in this country. For creative juristic work, in the economically unified world of today, calls for scientific study of the legal materials of the whole world.

When one thinks of comparative law, he must think first of Roman law. In the common-law world we must compare not merely institutions and precepts and doctrines but traditional techniques and received ideals of our own law with those of the modern Roman law and the codes based upon it. But to understand the institutions and precepts and doctrines and techniques of the countries of continental Europe and of countries deriving their law therefrom we must know the Roman law upon which they are based and to which they are related by continuous development of the *Corpus Juris* since the twelfth century.

Moreover, a great need of the legal science of today is a revival of historical jurisprudence. The method of the historical school in the latter part of the last century is not the only historical method of the jurist. It was, as has often been noted, metaphysical more than historical. The creative era on which law was entered will need the check of a true historical method if it is to avoid doctrinal and institutional waste. In such a revival a well grounded knowledge of Roman law is indispensable. Much that passed for Roman law in American books of the last century must be given up. Indeed, much that had passed for it everywhere a generation ago has had to be at least recast in the light of what we know today.

It is important for an awakened interest in Roman law in American institutions of learning to have translations of foreign texts putting our students and teachers in easy touch with the subject as it stands today. Especially it is important to put them in touch with expositions of Roman law in relation to ancient legal history in general and to the general development of Hellenistic culture. . . .

Roman law shows a continuous well attested historical development of legal procedure for substantially one thousand years in the ancient world, and the modern Roman-law world has built on the maturity of that development for another eight centuries. This development is not merely part of legal history, it is an important part of the history of civilization. (From the *Introd.*, to Wenger's *Institute of the Roman Law of Civil Procedure*, New York, 1940.)

The editor of *The Columbia Law Review*, in the issue of April, 1942:

That in this period of intensified commercial and financial relations between the various parts of the Hemisphere such an undertaking (i.e., the promotion of an understanding of Civil Law institutions) can be justified from a purely practical point of view is obvious. But more important than this, law is a significant element of culture, and the mutual study and appreciation of such culture, both south and north of the Rio Grande, are among the outstanding tasks of our

time. Legal studies, using a constructively comparative method, are therefore among the elements necessary to the growth of a New World-wide understanding.

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#### —Editorial Comment

### LATIN IN FOOTBALL AND POLITICS

"BEFORE the football season is over, I must write you a few small items that indicate the value of the Classics in the modern merry-go-round."

This is the opening paragraph of a letter we have received from Mr. Charles E. Bacon of the well-known publishing house of Allyn and Bacon. Mr. Bacon's interest in the Classics is a matter of record, and so, we infer, is his interest in football.

"The Lynn Classical High School football team," Mr. Bacon continues, "is unbeaten among the Class A schools around Boston. The Boston Latin School football team has beaten all the city teams that it has met.

"In the recent Republican sweep the sole Democrat to survive was Buckley, the auditor, who was re-elected.

"Mr. Buckley was practically unknown when he went into office in the previous Democratic sweep. He made no campaign. He was with difficulty persuaded at the end to sit on the platform at the final rally.

"When asked to speak, Mr. Buckley said, 'I am glad to be here this evening. I am not a speaker. My opponent is an orator, I am an auditor.'

"Perhaps Mr. Buckley went to the above-named Latin School because he certainly knew what a good speech he was making. Let's believe that his knowledge of the Classics enabled him to survive the storm that wrecked his colleagues."



Roman public opinion favored free speech, but personal attacks upon magistrates on the state-supported stage were dangerous.

## Censorship in Republican Drama

Laura Robinson

**D**ID the Romans, as Cicero asserts,<sup>1</sup> have from the very earliest times a finer sense of the individual's right to the protection of his reputation than did other peoples? When we consider the freedom permitted to radio and press even in our recent national emergency, we are somewhat doubtful that a highly developed concept of libel was characteristic of early republican Romans as Cicero seemed to believe. In a democracy, even during war, we do not expect outspoken criticism of either public or private individuals to be severely curbed.

What attitude, however, the Roman law, the courts, and public opinion assumed toward free speech at various times during the Republic is a difficult problem, upon which textbooks of law throw little light. The substance of the Roman law was constantly changing. With each generation, new interpretations were made of the Twelve Tables (c. 451 B.C.) until the middle of the second century B.C., when a formulary system began to develop under the influence of praetorian edicts. The rights of individuals during the Republic can only vaguely be grasped through incidental references in writers of the period and through citations in the codes of the imperial jurists, who were too far removed from republican government to understand its standards or to report intact the substance of its laws. A study of the dramatists, we

believe, will throw some light upon the republican attitude toward contempt of governmental officials or intent to defame the individual.

### I

ALTHOUGH dramatic performances at Rome were regularly sponsored by the government, the earliest comic poet, Gnaeus Naevius, declared his right to free speech.

*Libera lingua loquemur ludis Liberalibus.*<sup>2</sup>

With license he stepped on the toes of the Metelli who were strong members of the new war party.<sup>3</sup> Indulging in humor which he was soon to be made to regret, the conservative Naevius twisted recent public events to reflect upon this family in the line—

*Fato Metelli Romae fiunt consules.*<sup>4</sup>

The double entendre has been aptly translated:<sup>5</sup>

The Metelli became consuls at Rome by chance.  
or

The Metelli became consuls to Rome's misfortune.<sup>6</sup>

The innuendo Professor Frank worked out thus: Quintus Metellus was one of the messengers who had brought to Rome news of the victory at the Metaurus. The coming year he was elected consul. He had not yet held the praetorship, and accordingly had no right to expect the consulship; but the popular enthusiasm over the victory reflected enough glory upon him to bring about his election out of order.

To Naevius' insinuation the Metelli are said to have answered in a pointed line—

*Dabunt malum Metelli Naevio poetae*<sup>7</sup>

and proceeded to do so. Although Marcus Metellus was *praetor urbanus* at the same

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This paper was read before the Fortieth Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South in St. Louis in April, 1944.

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time that his popular brother, Quintus, was consul, it is, nevertheless, amazing that these two officials resorted to such extreme measures to silence their critic. Naevius was imprisoned and not until he had written two recantations, *Hariolus* and *Leon*, was he released by the tribunes.<sup>8</sup>

## II

THE QUESTION immediately arises, was such repression legitimate? Less than half a century ago scholars were agreed in believing that the Twelve Tables gave action against libel. Some authorities accepted both clauses cited by St. Augustine (*De Civit. Dei* 2. 9), supposedly from Cicero (*De Rep.* 4. 12), as a part of the decemviral code which was prohibitive of actual libel:

Nostrae . . . duodecim tabulae, cum perpaucas res capite sanxissent, in hanc quoque sancientiam putaverunt, si quis occentavisset, sive carmen condidisset, quod infamiam faceret flagitiumve alteri.

St. Augustine, however, admits that he has altered the passage to make it more easily understood; that is, he has very likely added the phrase *quod infamiam faceret* to explain *carmen condidisset*. It would be amazing to find the Romans in 451 B.C., even before the beginning of a conscious literature, punishing verbal insult. Since philological studies reveal *cantare* and its compounds as terminology peculiar to witchcraft,<sup>9</sup> some scholars have been led to discount Cicero's conception of *occantare* in connection with libel and to consider that the statute which occurred in the Twelve Tables prohibited magic alone.<sup>10</sup> Belief in magic and the repression of its practice naturally belong to a primitive stage of culture. Obviously Cicero failed to understand the decemviral law, *si quis occentavisset*, in its original meaning, "if anyone has cast a spell," and thought that the passage referred to libel. Apparently he was following an interpretation of the decemviral law which had already been accepted by the courts before his time.<sup>11</sup> In all probability he was quoting accurately the decemviral law, but was alluding in the context to the later revision.

If the law of the Twelve Tables referred only to magical practices as a capital offence, how was it that this revision came to be made? Gellius represents Naevius' imprisonment as resulting directly from his maligning of state officials. Since dramatic spectacles were paid for by the government, and the selection of plays was in the hands of state magistrates, inevitably free expression on the stage, even under the Republic, would suffer. Inasmuch as the theatre was supported by the government, it could not be made an instrument for discrediting the current administration. Particularly in a period of national stress, criticism of officials could not be tolerated in a government-owned theatre. A comparison is suggested to us of the practice today in England, where party propaganda is not permitted over the B.B.C. since it is under government operation, whereas liberty of the press is protected. In Naevius' case, under the strain of war times, a praetor probably dug up the old decemviral law on magic and stretched the meaning of the prohibition against *carmina*, giving it his own interpretation.<sup>12</sup> This action seems to have been a purely wartime measure and not to have been applied to free speech in general.

## III

NAEVIUS' case appears to have initiated a series of legal enactments. Authorities would scarcely be willing to trust the precedent established by this perverted interpretation, especially since the Twelve Tables allowed the death penalty. Two cases cited by *Auctor ad Herennium* of suits brought for damages on charge of verbal injury on the stage seem to indicate that Naevius' case influenced the new formulary procedure. Though both were civil suits, important politicians may have been back of them.

The first suit was brought by the poet Accius, before the praetor P. Mucius (136 B.C.), against a mime for addressing him by name on the stage. Although the mime responded that he had a right to mention a writer by name whose plays were being publicly performed, he was condemned by Mucius.<sup>13</sup> The mime had chosen an ill-timed occasion. Ac-

cus had recently written a tragedy called the *Brutus* in honor of his patron, D. Junius Brutus, who had triumphed over the Celaei. Accius was not friendly with the literary circle of the conservative Scipio Aemilianus, nor did he bow to the aristocratic Julius Caesar Strabo in the collegium of the poets.<sup>14</sup> The praetor Mucius seems to have been of similar political affiliations, for we find him a few years later a member of the reform party in the senate, encouraging Ti. Gracchus and opposing Scipio.<sup>15</sup> Evidently again, as in the process against Naevius, when the interests of the war party were involved, extraordinary pressure was brought to institute a suit for libel. In view of the political sympathy between the judge and the plaintiff, it is not altogether surprising that the accused was condemned.

In the other case the complaint of the satirist Lucilius that a mime had attacked him by name on the stage was over-ruled by the iudex Coelius.<sup>16</sup> As Hirschfeld has suggested, Coelius may very well be C. Coelius Calvus, the tribune of 107 B.C.<sup>17</sup> The rise of Coelius Calvus to first office, inasmuch as he was a *novus homo*, excited considerable jealousy among the nobility. That his decision was adverse to Lucilius is not astonishing when we remember that our satirist had been patronized by the aristocrat Scipio Aemilianus, and had repeatedly attacked members of the popular party in his satires.

Since in both these cases cited by the Auctor the defamation was *nominatim* spoken in *scaena*, these two points may have been distinctive of the new law on *iniuria* in the second century. The new law probably stipulated that the mention of a name was a *sine qua non*. Further it very likely avoided the danger of a general restriction of free expression by specifying that it was applicable only to attacks made from the stage.

Each of these three suits, we see, was instituted because of dramatic attacks. Since the theatre was controlled by the state, such attacks were naturally more amenable to legal restraint. When Naevius offended members of the war party, he was haled to court on an improvised charge and condemned.

The two mimes, having affronted writers who were aligned with important politicians, were brought to trial in the court *de injuriis*. One was condemned by a praetor who favored the same party as the plaintiff, whereas the other was absolved by a iudex who was unfriendly to the aristocratic circle to which the plaintiff belonged. It seems probable that in all three cases some political coercion may have been exerted. It is a long time before we hear more of such cases.

#### IV

YET Naevius' imprisonment seems to have been accepted as a warning by Plautus.<sup>18</sup> Apparently he considered it as proof that a dramatic writer composing for public plays did not have unlimited right of free speech. If Plautus had opinions to express, he spoke cautiously and made no direct personal attacks. He contented himself with weaving skilful word plays into the text so adroitly that the sleepy listener might miss them entirely.<sup>19</sup> As we might expect, Terence alluded even less frequently than Plautus to contemporary events. Though the criticism in Terence's prologues is often bitter, he mentions no names. Other dramatists of the period, in so far as the scanty fragments reveal, suppressed comments on public events altogether.

Isolated passages in Cicero indicate that both the legitimate stage and the mime in his day resorted only to cryptic allusions. Witness the occasion of the actor Aesopus pleading Cicero's case by means of mere suggestive lines from dramatists of the past.<sup>20</sup> Actors sometimes applied their lines to public events and were greeted by approval. For example, at the festival of Apollo in 59 B.C., lines from an old play of Diphilus struck so closely at Pompey that Cicero says that they would seem to have been written by an enemy.<sup>21</sup> In presenting the *Simulans* of Afranius, the group of actors turned upon Clodius and shouted—

huic, Tite,

tua principia atque exitus vitiosae vitae—<sup>22</sup>

The mime took greater liberty in speech. In mock anxiety Cicero expressed fear that La-





By A. E. Gordon

A different kind of Latin

# Rambles Among Latin Inscriptions

Of Interest to Teacher and Student

LATIN inscriptions may be taken to mean all the Latin written on all materials except literary works on papyrus or parchment. The big collections include both the strictly ancient and the early medieval. The materials inscribed include stone (the stuff most often used), metal, clay and terra cotta, stucco, glass, and wax-covered wood. In short, the subject covers the Romans' entire output of non-literary writing, and even some literary material. Coins, however, are generally excluded as a special subject.

THE OBJECTS found with inscriptions on them include records and documents of all sorts. The largest number, I dare say, consists of what we should call tombstones and funerary inscriptions, belonging to people in all walks of life, from slave to emperor, as well as animal pets. Then there are (not necessarily in order of importance or frequency, but rather as they come to my mind) advertisements of things for sale or rent, notices to the public (e.g., rewards for the return of stolen articles, warnings about runaway slaves, notices of coming gladiatorial games), copies of laws and legal documents, recommendations to the voters, greetings and good wishes to friends, remarks (sometimes quite improper) to the passer-by, lines of verse (generally in the form of short epitaphs, sometimes quotations from the poets), dedications to the gods and goddesses (one of the biggest groups), inscriptions in honor of public of-

ficials, inscriptions (of contents, greetings to buyers, names of owners) on portable objects such as lamps, pottery, rings and seals, weights and measures, sling stones, etc., etc.

A minimum figure for the total number of Latin inscriptions known to us would be well over 160,000 (including some 2600-2700 of republican date), quite apart from thousands of coins. This figure includes only some, but by no means all, of the early Christian inscriptions, some 10,000 of which I should estimate to be now known. As for distribution, the largest part is from Rome itself (almost 40,000), the next largest number from Roman Africa (about 28,000, excluding Egypt), then from the Greek half of the Empire (Egypt, Asia, the Greek provinces of Europe, and Illyricum: over 15,000), and Gaul and Germany (over 13,000). The parts of the Empire from which we have the smallest number to date are England (only 1355 in *CIL*) and

<sup>13</sup> Auct. ad Her. 1. 24: Mimus quidam nominatim Accium poetam compellavit in scaena: cum eo Accius injuriarum egit: hic nihil aliud defendit, nisi licere nominari eum, cuius nomine scripta dentur agenda. 2. 19: P. Mucius eum, qui L. Accium poetam nominaverat, condemnavit.

<sup>14</sup> Val. Max. 3. 7. 11.

<sup>15</sup> Cic. De Rep. 1. 31; Acad. pr. 2. 13.

<sup>16</sup> Auct. ad Her. 2. 19: C. Coelius iudex absolvit injuriarum eum, qui Lucilium poetam in scaena nominatim laeserat.

<sup>17</sup> Hirschfeld, *Hermes* 8 (1874), 468.

<sup>18</sup> *Miles Gloriosus* (211-12): Nam os columnatum

poetae esse indauidi barbaro Quoi bini custodes semper totis horis occubant. Allen, F., "An 'Os Columnatum' (Plaut. M. G. 211) and Ancient Instruments of Confinement," *Harv. Cl. Stud.* (1896) 37-64.

<sup>19</sup> West, A., "On a Patriotic Passage in 'Miles Gloriosus' of Plautus," *AJP* 9 (1887), 15-33. Frank, "Political Allusions in the *Trinummus*," *AJP* 53 (1932) 152-6.

<sup>20</sup> Cic. Pro Sest. 118-22.

<sup>21</sup> Cic. Ad Att. 2. 19. 3.

<sup>22</sup> Cic. Pro. Sest. 118.

<sup>23</sup> Cic. Ad Fam. 7. 11. 2.

<sup>24</sup> Cic. Ad Att. 14. 3. 2.

Spain (6350 in *CIL*).<sup>1</sup> (In contrast, Pompeii alone has given us more than Spain and far more than England.)

What of the "text tradition" for this huge number? Many are still extant, just as they were originally written. I can only guess what proportion of the total, but, being fresh from a reading of all the 160,000-plus in *CIL*, I do hazard a guess: 50% still extant or extant down into the 19th century when they were copied. Consider how different is the problem of establishing a text, as compared with the problem presented by our Latin authors, in respect to whom the great bulk of our extant manuscripts date from the Carolingian period to the Renaissance; that is, from 500 to 1000 years after the end of the ancient period. True, there are many errors even in the inscriptions still extant, but at least they are errors made not by some medieval scribe, but by the original maker—the stone-cutter, for example, or his authority. For the inscriptions no longer extant, we have to rely on manuscript tradition, which may go back to the Renaissance. There are one or two manuscript compilations dating from the Middle Ages, but the first great interest in collecting and editing the large number of Latin inscriptions that were visible everywhere throughout the lands of the old Roman Empire came with the Renaissance, as a part of the great revival of enthusiasm for antiquity. It may or may not surprise you to know that during and after the Renaissance, while that enthusiasm was at its height, many Latin inscriptions were forged by men who felt, for example, that a contemporary mention of Cicero in the inscriptions was so necessary that, if it did not exist (or was perhaps no longer extant), it must be invented (or reborn). Most, if not all, of these forgeries have long since been detected, but some items in our collections are of doubtful character—genuine or spurious?<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, for the big bulk of the epigraphical texts collected and edited (modern work on them began during our Civil War with the publishing of the first volumes, in 1862 and 1863, of the great German *CIL*, initiated and largely performed by one man, Mommsen, who

edited the whole or a large part of six of the first 10 volumes of *CIL*), we can be sure of having the text just as it was originally, and for perhaps half of this mass we can still go see and check with our own eyes (that is, if we can go to Europe and find it not all blown to smithereens: there is very little in the United States).

### The Value of Inscriptions

THIS LEADS me to say a few words about the general value of Latin inscriptions. There is no phase of Roman life not illustrated by them. Our school texts of Latin authors have hardly begun to incorporate the prolific material offered by inscriptions. A good many of the words are not even in our big, but much out-of-date, Harper's Latin Dictionary, or, if they are listed, they lack some meanings attested epigraphically; for example, the word *canalicarius*<sup>3</sup> and other military terms. They are also one of our few sources for "Vulgar" Latin and Latin slang, the speech of everyday life. But their greatest value is historical, in the largest sense. They give dates, names, economic, geographical, military, topographical data, information on all aspects of public and private life, either entirely new to us or supplementing and confirming what is known from literary sources.<sup>4</sup>

For example, the emperor Augustus' brief autobiography, merely mentioned in Suetonius, we have in inscriptional form—Latin copies of the original bronze tablets set up in front of his elaborate tomb in Rome, as well as a Greek version. This so-called Queen of Latin Inscriptions (Mommsen's term) is as unsatisfactory as it is important, and reads just like the work of its great but hardly likable author.

A famous decree of the senate, of 186 B.C., of great social and religious significance, is described in its setting and summarized by Livy and mentioned briefly by Cicero, but is preserved for us epigraphically in its original archaic Latin: here epigraphy and literature are of equal importance.<sup>5</sup>

One of the most interesting inscriptions, historically, in a field in which we have all too few data in the authors, is that of Dio-

cletian's Edict on Maximum Prices and Maximum Wages of A.D. 301, of which we have parts of many copies, both Latin and Greek, found in the eastern Mediterranean. It lists numerous articles and services that only an encyclopedist knows the names of now.

My last "brief mention" is of the 157 extant records of privileges of citizenship and marriage granted to veteran soldiers by the emperors. It is impressive, especially in these days when American citizenship is prized, to read the exact original language of records granting to foreign-born soldiers rights of Roman citizenship and marriage in return for 20 or 25 years of service (26 years in the case of sailors).

I should like finally to give you some actual samples illustrating the human side of the Romans:

- (1) Painted on a street-corner post at Pompeii: *Urna aenia pereit de taberna. Sei quis rettulerit, debuntur HS (=sestertii) LXV; sei furem dabit . . . (?)* C.I.L. 4.64
- (2) A take-off on the serious type of recommendation to Pompeian voters:<sup>6</sup> *Vatiam aed(ilem) rogant macerio dormientes universi cum . . .* (575 = Dessau 6418\*. *macerio* is otherwise unknown, but seems to refer to some place or building in the town. *dormientes universi* ("Sleepers United") looks modelled on such responsible bodies as the *Agricolae*, *Pomari*, *Muliones*, *Universi Pompeiani*, all of whom appear in inscriptions recommending so-and-so to the electorate; in the same comic group are the *Furunculi* (Petty Thieves) and the *Scribibi* (Late Drinkers); cf. Frank Frost Abbott's charming paper, "Municipal Politics in Pompeii," in his *Society and Politics in Ancient Rome*, 15.

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- (3) *Suilimea Cissonio fratrabiliter sal(utem)*  
659

(*Suilimea* is *Aemilius* written backwards. *Fratrabiliter* is another word not in Harper's, though *amicabiliter* is cited from late Latin.)

- (4) *Hospitium hic locatur, trichinium cum tribus lectis* 807 = Dessau 6036 ("Lodging for rent here . . .")

- (5) *Otiosis locus hic non est: discede, morator*  
813

- (6) Painted on the amphitheater:  
*Omnia munera vicisti* (to a gladiator); by another hand: *τῶν ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ θαυμάτων ἐστὶ*  
1111  
("He's one of the Seven Wonders," perhaps the second earliest reference to them.)

- (7) Specially timely: *In praediis Iuliae Sp(urii) f(iliae) Felicis locantur balneum Venerium . . . , tabernae, pergulae, cenacula, ex idibus Augustis) primis in idus Augustas) sextas annos continuos quinque . . .* 1136 = Dessau 5723

(*Venus Bath*; *pergulae* are booths, stalls, shops; *cenacula*, upper stories, garrets, attics. Note the perfect proof that the Romans counted both ends.)

- (8) The eternal cry: *Quisquis ama(t), valia(t); peria(t) qui nosci(t) amare; bis tanti peria(t), quisquis amare vota(t) . . .*  
(1173, corr. p. 204; 3199; = Buech. 945-946. Translated by Kelsey, p. 494:  
'Good health be with you, lovers all;  
Who knows not how to love, be cursed;  
But oh may double ruin fall  
On him who sets out love to worst!  
*tanti* should probably be *tantum*.)

- (9) In red paint on a white-stucco wall:  
*Dedicazione (therma- or balnea)rum muneris Cn. Allei Nigidi Mai . . . venatio, athletae, sparsiones, vela erunt* 1117 = Dessau 5144  
(*venatio* is a wild-beast hunt; *sparsiones* seem to be sprinklings of perfume to cool the air; *vela*, awnings. Someone added, *Maio principi coloniae feliciter*: Hurrah for Maius, leading man of the town!)

- (10) The nostalgic: *Venimus huc cupidi, multo magis hire (cupimus)*  
*Ut liceat nostros visere, Roma, Lares.*  
(1227, add. p. 704; similarly, with *cupimus*

written, 2995 add. p. 704, 6697 = Lom-matzsch 2060. *hire* is cockney for *ire*. Note *cupimus* with long *i*: 4th-conj. forms occur occasionally.)

- (11) A graffito on a house wall, to accompany two painted scenes, at left a slave waiting on a soldier, at right the soldier holding out a cup: *Da fridam pusillum* 1291  
(i.e. *Da paullum aquae frigidae*, *fridam* is Vulgar Latin for *frigidam*; cf. Italian *freddo*.)

I forbear giving you more Pompeian inscriptions and simply refer you to Mau-Kelsey, especially Part VI, "The Inscriptions of Pompeii," or to Dessau II.1, pp. 586-602. But I must give you a few more from other parts of the Roman world.

- (12) Representative of the many inscriptions recording rich men's benefactions to the community is one from Pola, that sea-port at the southern end of the Istrian peninsula in the Adriatic, famous for its fine Roman remains, the biggest being the amphitheater: *L. Menacius L. f. Vel(ina) Priscus equo publico, praefectus fabrum, aed(ilis), Ilvir, Ilvir quinq(uennalis), trib(unus) mil(itum), flamen Augustor(um), patron(us) colon(iae), aquam Aug(ustam) in superiorem partem coloniae et in inferiorem impensa sua perduxit* (the verb, you remember, of Caesar's 19-mile 16-foot wall and trench from Lake Geneva to the Jura range) *et in tutelam eius dedit HS CCCC* V 47 = Dessau 5755  
(Divide 400,000 by 20 and get \$20,000.)

- (13) One of our not too numerous Latin inscriptions of Jews:  
*Aur(elius) Soter et Aur. Stephanus Aur(eliae) Soteriae matri pientissimae, religioni Iudeicae metuenti, f(ili) p(ientissimi)* 88  
(Same place. *religioni Iudeicae metuenti*: "a good Jewess," shall we say?)

- (14) A common type: *Iter privatum* and *Vicam precaream* 509;700  
(The latter is Republican, CIL I<sup>2</sup> 2214.)  
(15) *L. Trebius T. f. pater; L. Trebius L. f. Ruso fieri iussit.*

*Natus sum summa in pauperie; merui post classicus miles*  
*Ad latus Augusti annos septemque decemque,*

*Nulla odio, sine offensa, missus quoq(ue) honeste.*

*L(ocus) p(edes) q(uadratos) XVI.*  
(938 = Buech. 372 = Dessau 2905. *Aquileia. ad latus Augusti* is as high-sounding a way as I can imagine of saying that this plain gob served his 17 years at Naval Headquarters in Rome, "by the side of Augustus.")

*Ed. Note: Additional inscriptions with notes by Dr. Gordon will be published in future issues.*

## NOTES

The substance of this paper was read at the 33rd Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of the Pacific States in Portland, Oregon, March 17, 1945. On example no. 25 I am glad to acknowledge the enlightening comment, from the floor, of Dr. Edna Landros, Head of the Department of Classics, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, to be published later.

<sup>1</sup> Since the publication of the Spain and England volumes of *CIL* (1869-1892 and 1873, respectively) a good many inscriptions from both countries, especially the latter, have been published, but I believe that my statement in the text is still true.

<sup>2</sup> See my paper, "A Mysterious Latin Inscription in California," *Univ. of Calif. Publ. in Class. Arch.*, I. 13, (1944), p. 346.

<sup>3</sup> This means the chief accountant of a *vexillatio*, according to Balduin Saria, *Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslavien*, I, bearbeitet von Viktor Hoffiller und Balduin Saria (Zagreb, 1938, Internationaler Verband der Akademien), 147, on no. 314.

<sup>4</sup> See William and Georgina Buckler, "The Bearing of Inscriptions on Classical Literature," *CJ* 40. 3 (Dec. 1944), 148-167 (esp. p. 167, for the inscriptional evidence for King Arthur's having been "in real life a high Roman officer").

<sup>5</sup> The most convenient edition I know of these 2 inscriptions (the Augustus and the one of 186 A.C.), as well as of selections from Diocletian's Edict, is in Sandys, pp. 257-276, 283-285.

<sup>6</sup> In the text of these quotations, parentheses surround letters that for any reason are missing but are required by good classical Latinity. I have not, however, always added the missing letters.

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# ROMAN TOMBS BENEATH THE CRYPT OF ST. PETER'S

THE PRINCIPAL source of archaeological excitement in Rome continues to be the burial area below the crypt of St. Peter's, first discovered in 1940.

Tradition has it that the martyrdom of St. Peter was accomplished in the Circus Vaticanus (Circus of Caligula and Nero), perhaps in 64 A.D., and that the Christian basilica founded by Constantine, consecrated in 326 A.D., was erected upon this very holy spot. The basilica and later structures have precluded archaeological exploration of the site and would explain why the circus has not been discovered.

Under the present church is the crypt, in which are the tombs of many popes and cardinals, the Stuart princes, Emperor Otto II (†983 A.D.), Queen Christina of Swedne (†1689 A.D.), and others. Until 1940 the ceiling of the crypt was very low (5 feet, 6 inches); in that year the Vatican undertook to increase its height, for the convenience and comfort of visitors, by lowering the floor level.

Soon after the pavement was broken, a tomb of Roman date was located and partly bared, and the discovery of others revealed that beneath at least part of the great church lay, not the Circus of Caligula and Nero, but a pagan cemetery of the second and third centuries, astonishingly well preserved.

The work of modifying the crypt was accordingly suspended until those portions of the cemetery which could be reached without

hazard to the substructure of St. Peter's could be formally explored. The excavation was directed by Enrico Josi, Inspector of Catacombs and of the Lateran Museum.

What was found was a narrow street, running up from the river and lined on both sides with typical Roman tomb structures, brick with stone trim, containing both full-sized sarcophagi and sepulchral urns. One was richly decorated with stucco, and on the ceiling and walls of another are said to be represented, in mosaic, a fisherman with his line, Jonah and the Whale, and The Good Shepherd; these scenes, and another tomb in which was buried a Christian woman, Emilia Gorgonia, are among the earliest Christian monuments of Rome, and provide welcome new evidence of the infiltration of the then struggling young sect among the well-to-do of the metropolis.

The ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS of September 7, 1946, carries nine photographs of this memorable discovery, including (1) details of the sarcophagus of Q. Marcius Hermes and his "dignissima coniunx," Marcia Thrasionides, with interesting portraits of them on side panels of the lid, (2) the sarcophagus of Ostoria Chelidone, "incomparabilis castitatis et amoris erga maritum," wife of Vibius Iolaus who was "a memoria"—secretary—of an emperor not named, (3) a view of the street itself as finally cleared, showing the façades of four or five tombs, and (4) views of the excavations in progress and of one nave of

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 Sandys: Sir John Edwin Sandys, *Latin Epigraphy, An Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions* (ed. 2, rev. by S. G. Campbell) (Cambridge University Press, 1927).

the crypt after completion of the work and rearrangement of the post-classical tombs.

Another tomb is that of C. Popilius Heraclea, who wished to be buried, as the façade inscription states, "in the Vatican, near the Circus," so that the Circus Vaticanus must be close at hand after all.

In the issue of March 9, 1946, the *ILL. LON. NEWS* had already reported this discovery and reproduced photographs of other monuments, the stuccoes of the Caetennii tomb and the sarcophagus of Valerinus Vasatulus.

In the fourth century of our era, while the cemetery was still fresh and well kept, this location near the circus was chosen for the new basilica. Fill, consisting of earth and rubble, was brought to the site and packed carefully and firmly between and within the tombs, to provide a good base for the pave-

ment above. This explains the extraordinarily good condition of the cemetery; except for the upper part of several façades, which were cut back below the pavement level, there was no despoliation.

The excavation has now been completed as far as the safety of the church permits; further removal of fill would endanger the pavement of St. Peter's, which beyond the present boundary is supported not by piers but directly on the fill itself. The crypt has been repaved, at a lower level, the papal and royal tombs have been arranged in their new positions, and these chambers are again open to properly accredited visitors.

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL hopes in a future issue to show photographs of this cemetery and also to carry an illustrated account of the extensive wartime excavations at Ostia.

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#### Current Events

### OHIO CLASSICAL CONFERENCE

CINCINNATI was the scene of the annual fall meeting of the Ohio Classical Conference held on October 25 and 26.

Among the papers of wide general interest were the following, according to a report forwarded to THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL by Mr. Harlan Parker of Western Reserve Academy:

Mr. Paul Murphy's digest of the Harvard report, Mr. Frank Kramer's discussion of the classical course in college, Mr. Jones' (Ohio State) consideration of the first year work in Classics in college, Miss Stoner's (Laurel School, Cleveland) study and report of outside reading for teachers. Dr. Murley's address at the banquet "In Praise of the Less Abundant Life" proved most scintillating, quite thoroughly enjoyed by all who attended.

"Possibly the most forward-looking move that occurred," writes Mr. Parker, "was the establishment of a scholarship by the Con-

ference for teachers in the state of Ohio to study at the Academy at Rome and Athens. Dr. and Mrs. Semple generously offered to equal the amount given by the Conference making the scholarship \$250. For some time, there has been much ado made about students and their progress in the Classics. Now the accent has shifted to the teacher and his or her background, a place where personally I think it long since should have been."

Officers elected for next year: Miss Ruth Dunham of Mansfield, Chairman of the County Representatives; Mr. Paul R. Murphy, Mt. Union College, Alliance, Secretary-Treasurer; Mr. John W. Walton, Superintendent of the Manchester Schools, and Miss Hazel Murray, East High School, Cleveland, Vice-Presidents; Mr. Henry C. Montgomery, Miami University, President.

The meeting next year will be held at Western Reserve Academy in Hudson during the Thanksgiving vacation.

## SERMONS FROM STONES

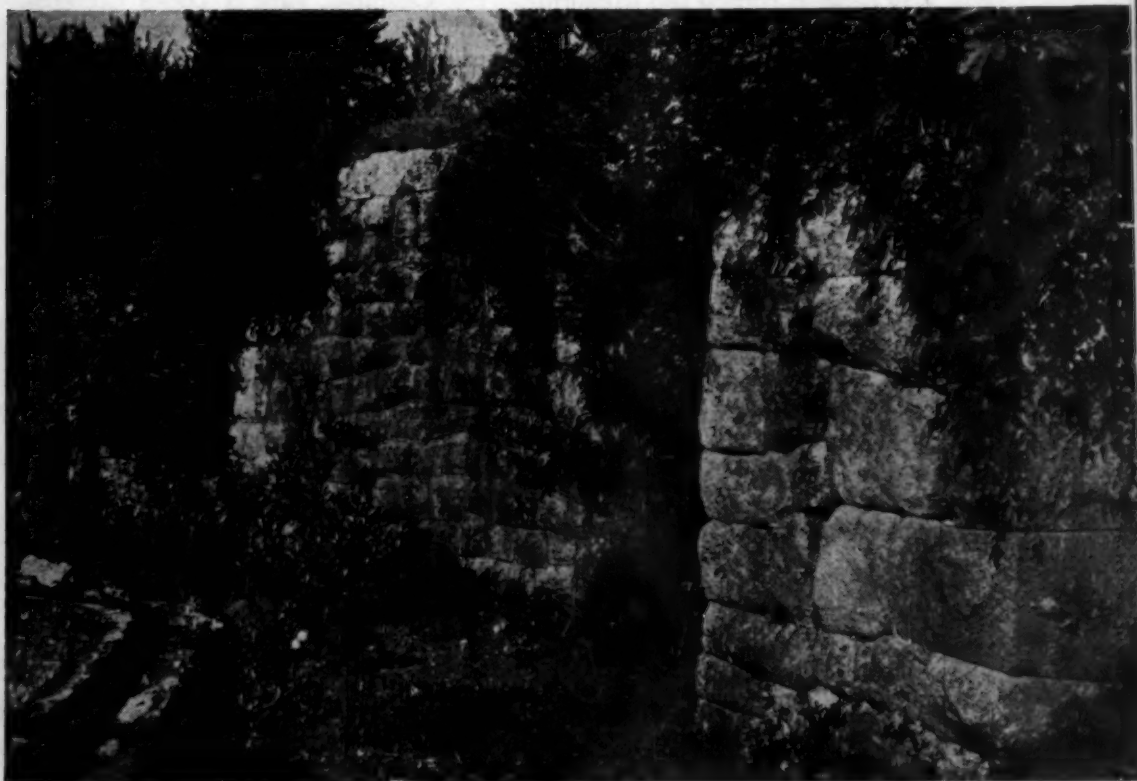
**A**MONG the discoveries in the forum of Minturnae was a small temple standing on a double podium, so badly beaten up at the hands of time that few fragments of the superstructure could be identified, and even its dedication remains in doubt. It would surely have failed to make the archaeological *Who's Who* if it had not been for an extraordinary circumstance: In its foundations were found twenty-nine limestone altars dating from the late Republic, each inscribed with

the names of nine to twelve magistri, slaves and freedmen who tended the compita, little street-corner shrines where these altars had originally been set up.

At first sight the texts are pedestrian enough: *PHILEROS·APVLI·P·S* for a slave, *M·EPIDIVS·M·L·ANTIOCVS* for a freedman. Several times the divinity is mentioned: Venus, Ceres, Spes, Mercury Felix. Once the stone is dated by the Roman consuls of 65 B.C., and once by the local duovirs, otherwise unknown

## WALL OF PIRAE

THIS IS PART OF THE FORTIFICATION WALL OF PIRAE, a forgotten Italic town site at modern Scauri, between Minturnae and Formiae on the west coast of Italy. The pseudo-polygonal limestone construction suggests the fourth century B.C. The heavy bastion at the right guards, and in this photograph conceals, a corbeled gateway. The Mediterranean shore is a short distance to the left. The story of the re-identification of Pirae is told in the accompanying text. (ENIT photo.)



to fame. But in most instances the stone now preserves only the list of *magistri* (or *magistrae*; six list female slaves and freedwomen) who set it up. Twenty-nine lists of humble persons would seem like nothing to get very excited about.

However, the slave gives his master's name to help identify himself; the freedman assumes his master's name and retains his own slave-name as cognomen; so that in some 300 entries about 190 different slave-owners are named. Some of these entries will bear being looked at a little more closely. Take for example the entry in altar no. 24, line 9: PAMPIL·PIRANAE·S: 'Pamphilus, slave of Pirana.' A long and very thorough search of the collected lists of Roman names disclosed no previous appearance of the name Pirana, and it was only by chance that a passage in Pliny the Elder came to yield its origin.

Pliny mentions, early in his third book, a deserted village which stood beside the Appian Way between Formiae and Minturnae, which he says had been called Pirae. Piranus is certainly a toponym formed from it, 'the man from Pirae,' confirming both the textual reading and Pliny's veracity, and showing that as late as the time of Cicero a descendant of the original Piranus was still living in the neighborhood. Another entry gives a variant spelling: DIO·PEIRANAE·S, showing -I- and indicating a probable cognate with Pisae in Etruria. Amedeo Maiuri has discovered, within the limits of the modern fishing-village of Sauri, five kilometers west of Minturnae, a handsome fourth-century B.C. wall which can only be that of Pirae, and the forgotten town of Pliny's day is now beginning to have a respectable archaeology of its own.

Altar no. 2 is badly damaged along one side of the inscribed surface, but the first letters of all entries are preserved, and so in line 8 we have M·VITVLANIVS·M·[ ], 'Marcus Vitulanius —, freedman of Marcus Vitulanius.' Here again ensued a prolonged search through Pauly-Wissowa, Schulze, Conway's *Italic Dialects* and the indexed volumes of the *Corpus of Latin Inscriptions*, all negative, and the editor sent

the text to press with the linguistically highly unjustifiable annotation that for lack of a better explanation Vitulanius would be considered a variant spelling of Vetulenus. Then, while we were motoring near Benevento, a highway marker pointing to "Vitulano, 4.6 km." provided the answer—a town so modest that it appears only on the largest-scale maps. Some time before the period of Caesar a restless citizen of Vitulanum (or was he a municipal slave?) had moved to Minturnae, where he assumed the name Vitulanius. There is no other evidence for the antiquity of Vitulanum; our chance discovery of altar no. 2 added two thousand years of history to the little modern town lying above the ancient site.

Altar no. 28 has the following entry: PHILEMO·MARI·C·S 'Philemon, slave of Gaius Marius.' No. 7 has an entry MENANDER·CORNEL·L·S 'Menander, slave of Lucius Cornelius,' and no. 5 an entry CLEANTVS·CORN·L·S 'Cleanthus, slave of Lucius Cornelius.' It would be a very timid or a very pessimistic editor indeed who could resist the temptation to point out at least the possibility that we have here, among the slave-owners of Minturnae, the great rival dictators, C. Marius and L. Cornelius Sulla.

However that may be, the altars do furnish a sure link with one of the many yarns spun about Marius' adventures. When in 88 B.C. Marius found it expedient to depart hastily from Rome and the vicinity of Sulla, he was presently driven to cover in a noisome marsh below Minturnae; there he was captured, taken to Minturnae, and imprisoned at the house of a lady of the town, by name Fannia, while the city fathers debated his fate. It happened that at some previous time Fannia's husband had sued her for divorce, and Marius had presided at the hearing, so that he already had some acquaintance with his hostess. The altars did not contain the name of Fannia herself, but numbers 12 and 22 name slaves of her husband, C. Titinius.

Calidius, also found spelled Caledius, is a familiar Italian nomen. Assuming a derivation from *calidus*, Conway called attention to the interesting interchange of -I- and -Ē-. The



name appears five times in the Minturnae altars; four times the spelling is CALIDIVS, but the fifth entry gives CALEIDIVS (for Calidius), blowing the derivation from calidus out of the water and revealing its true origin as a toponym formed from Cales, a town in the territory of the Sidicini, a long day's walk from Minturnae.

Altar no. 14 has two entries not immediately transparent to the uninitiated: ANTIOC·SAL·SOC·S and PHILEMO·PIC·SOC·S. To understand them we must expand the abbreviations: Antiochus salinatorum sociorum servus 'Antiochus, slave of the salt corporation,' and Philemon picariorum sociorum servus 'Philemon, slave of the pitch corporation.' The socii salinatores farmed the revenues from the salt pans along the seashore, then as now a state monopoly in Italy, and the socii picarii worked the pine forests on the hills above Minturnae, likewise a monopoly of the Roman state, for their lumber, charcoal, pitch and other commercial products. These were the "publicans" of song and story, and their mere appearance here tells us much about the industrial position of Minturnae. Corporations, like individuals, owned slaves and this is the way their slaves indicated the relationship; such slaves, when freed, would assume a nomen formed from the corporate name, Salinatorius or Picarius, just

as municipal slaves when freed took nomina from the town, e.g., Minturnius, Colonius.

Other entries supply other new nomina (Apulius, Graecilius); new spellings (Aceronius, Apeicius, Ateidius and Atedius, Cahius, Careisius, Dercullius, Luconius, Rahius, Sammiarius, Sauffei, Veconius) of nomina already familiar in other spellings; and, among the slaves, foreign names not previously found in Italy or recorded in Latin (Actarus, Afrio, Ambatio, Diastes; one new name, Rahiminanaeus, occupies an entire line on its stone).

At some time between 65 and 45 B.C. the central part of Minturnae was destroyed in a great fire, and the compita at which these altars had been set up were within the fire zone. These little shrines were not restored; the altars, endowed with sanctity, were removed and stored where profane hands might not pervert them to evil magic, and some years later they were turned over to the donors of a new temple, to be re-used as building material, again for a hallowed purpose. When the excavations at Minturnae began, on August 10, 1931, the first trench, on the first day, yielded, as our first discovery, altar no. 6.\*

J. J.

\* The altars were published in 1933: Jotham Johnson, *Excavations at Minturnae*, Volume II, Part I, Republican Magistri, Rome and Philadelphia 1933.

#### Current Events

#### MISSOURI CLASSICAL CONFERENCE

KANSAS CITY was host to the Missouri Classical Conference at its annual meeting held in conjunction with the Department of Classics of the Missouri State Teachers Association on Friday, November 8.

The program opened with a luncheon meeting in the Hotel Phillips, presided over by Rev. J. J. Higgins, S.J. The speaker was Very Rev. Thomas M. Knapp, President of Rockhurst College; his topic, "We Classicists."

At the afternoon session, Norman J. DeWitt of Washington University spoke on "Latin and General Education," pointing out that the study of Latin may be placed in the context of the most modern educational theories without sacrificing essential value or content.

Mrs. Ruth F. Joedicke of Mary Institute, Clayton, Missouri, reviewed the plans and activities of the Committee on Educational Policy of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, with special reference to "Latin Week" and the survey of methods and objectives being undertaken by the Committee.

Dr. Leo M. Kaiser of Saint Louis University spoke on "Cicero as an Interesting Personality," bringing out the essential loneliness of the man who was without a true friend.

Dr. Thomas S. Duncan of Washington University was appointed Chairman of the Conference for next year, with Dr. Chauncey Finch of Saint Louis University as Program Chairman.

## —Current Events

## CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC STATES

*Central Section*

A HIGHLY successful meeting of the Central Section of CAPS took place on Saturday, November 2, at Stanford University. It was the largest gathering in years and brought representatives together from many Central California points.

After lunch in the charming surroundings of the Allied Arts building in Menlo Park, the delegates adjourned to the School of Education building of Stanford University, where the afternoon session was called to order by President Claire Thursby at 2:15. After the usual business reports and an announcement by the secretary that the membership now stood at 74, the highest in many years, Miss Thursby called on the speaker of the afternoon, Mr. Edward Y. Lindsay of the Grant Union High School, North Sacramento, to read his paper on "The Schoolman's Latin,—and the Professor's."

This proved to be an incisive account of the present state of divergence between the view of Latin teaching taken in the universities and that necessarily obtaining in the high schools. There had been a time when the high school was very largely a place of preparation for future college students, who were sent up from their schools very carefully drilled in exactly what the colleges required for further advanced work. At that time the schoolman and the professor worked in close harmony.

Had economic conditions remained the same, this harmony would no doubt still prevail, but from the turn of the century the rapid development of machines of extraordinary and almost human capacities rapidly made the work of the former boy-helpers, who had once left at the end of grade school to go into the factories, unnecessary. At this point a society, greatly troubled by the spectacle of these young displaced persons, decided to make the high school their guardian, without investigating whether it could also be their educator. The old curriculum could not possibly work with the large proportion of the new school population; hence

a relaxing of standards, the creation of a host of new courses to which it was hoped these students would respond, and a growing tendency, now practically an established custom, to impair the opportunities in the public schools for those intellectually gifted few on whom the real future of democracy depends, and to transfer these opportunities very largely to private schools.

As these processes went on their fatal way, the professors began to raise complaints about the inferiority of the student type now being sent to college, entirely overlooking the fact that the function of the high school in society had perforce changed from the old days of happy partnership between preparatory school and college. It has become the job of the present day high school teacher to meet a diffused social obligation, not any longer to create future specialists. A recanting of the whole question is now due; a quarter of a century has elapsed since the valuable Classical Investigation of 1920 and trends then only incipient have become deep grooves of actual practice in the schools, while college work is carried on to a much greater degree in the old spirit.

A spirited discussion followed participated in by Mrs. Wickert, Mrs. Hjul, Professor Green, Mr. Drew, Mrs. Piccardo, Miss Seitz, Professor Fontenrose, Mr. Eifer, Professor Gordon, Professor Harriman, Professor Alexander. All were agreed in praising highly the clear way in which Mr. Lindsay had worked out the subject, especially in its economic aspects. Apart from that agreement a wide diversity of view was expressed on the whole problem, both as to its seriousness and possible remedies.

After agreeing to meet at Stockton in the spring of 1947, the gathering adjourned to the home of Professor and Mrs. Harriman, Palo Alto, where at a delightful tea social relations were renewed, or begun for future renewal.

—Reported by W. H. Alexander,  
Secretary-Treasurer CAPS (Central Section)

We know what Horace said about wine—  
What did he really THINK?

## The Wine Element in Horace

Arthur Patch McKinlay

### IN TWO PARTS

ONE FINDS such contrary appraisals of the wine element in Horace that one is tempted to explore the reasons for such diversity of opinion. Such a study seems to show a tendency to take Horace too literally. That much of Horace is in the Greek tradition and that he said much in a spirit of fun has not always been recognized. About all one can say is that Horace wrote for an audience that was interested in the setting of Roman life he portrayed and that, so far as one may dogmatize anything as to Horace's own point of view, there is some evidence that he would have the prospective poet reared at least in a disciplinary atmosphere. Whether Horace actually wrote under the inspiration of Bacchus we cannot say.

### PART I

THE POINT of view of the authorities mentioned below is so at variance with that of other<sup>12</sup> students of Horace that it has seemed well to take up anew the place of wine in Horace's economy. Accordingly, it is the purpose of this paper: first, to assemble the evidence that makes for the judgment of Horace's drinking expressed by the aforesaid scholars; second, to present other data

that seem to call in question the validity of such conclusions; third, to account for the contrariety of opinion that will be found to develop in the course of the study; and last, to make some observations that seem to be warranted by the facts.

The plenitude of Bacchic data observable in Horace, particularly in the Odes, is an obvious explanation of why so many have taken him literally. These data group themselves objectively and subjectively. Objectively one notes such categories of Bacchic phenomena as brands of wine, epithets of the wine god, drinking apparatus, and symposiac data of all sorts. Among brands there are: Alban,<sup>14</sup> Caecuban,<sup>15</sup> Calenian,<sup>16</sup> Chian,<sup>17</sup> Coan,<sup>18</sup> Falernian,<sup>19</sup> Formian,<sup>20</sup> Lesbian,<sup>21</sup> Massican,<sup>22</sup> Methymnaean,<sup>23</sup> Sabine,<sup>24</sup> Surrentinan,<sup>25</sup> and Syran.<sup>26</sup> Frequently wine without the naming of its provenience is mentioned: thus merum,<sup>27</sup> mulsum,<sup>28</sup> vinum.<sup>29</sup> Epithets of the wine god abound: Bacchus,<sup>30</sup> Bassareus,<sup>31</sup> Euhius,<sup>32</sup> Lenaeus,<sup>33</sup> Liber,<sup>34</sup> Lyaeus,<sup>35</sup> Semel-eius,<sup>36</sup> Thyoneus.<sup>37</sup> Without any attempt at an exhaustive citation one observes many references to drinking utensils: amphora,<sup>38</sup> amystis,<sup>39</sup> cadus,<sup>40</sup> calix,<sup>41</sup> cratera,<sup>42</sup> diota,<sup>43</sup>

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HORACE has had much heralding as a devotee of Bacchus. It is interesting to note that William Pierson,<sup>1</sup> Edith Hamilton,<sup>2</sup> and O. E. Nybakken<sup>3</sup> take the poet quite seriously. Thus Mr. Pierson begins<sup>4</sup> by holding that lyric poetry discloses to sympathetic souls the inner nature of poets; he then proceeds to particularize, saying that of the gods Bacchus played the chief role with Horace. He cites Horace's famous letter<sup>5</sup> on the useful functions of wine without noticing that the poet has included these supposed powers of Bacchus along with other qualities so illusory that the reader might well pause before drawing any dogmatic conclusions. Even Professor Greenough<sup>6</sup> interprets Horace as urging the sober Torquatus to indulgence. Wilhelm Gemoll<sup>7</sup> also seems to take Horace literally saying, "Horace is a great friend and worshipper of wine." Hederick<sup>8</sup> says of Horace that he loved drinking. Klotz thinks that Horace's convivial odes<sup>9</sup> reveal the poet's real disposition and interprets<sup>10</sup> *Epistles* 1.15 as being an attack on fanatical ascetism. Schanz<sup>11</sup> characterizes Horace's praise of wine in *Epistles* 1.5 as begeisterte. Similarly, Simcox<sup>12</sup> thinks of the poet as having been a hard drinker during years when he was writing his wine poems.

dolium,<sup>44</sup> lagena,<sup>45</sup> patera,<sup>46</sup> pocula,<sup>47</sup> scyphus,<sup>48</sup> testa.<sup>49</sup>

Symposiac customs meet the eye as it runs over the lines of Horace. Thus the accepted habit of having all the guests keep the pace is set off in contrast with the "inaequales<sup>50</sup> calices" and the "culpa<sup>51</sup> magistra" of Horace's *Satires*. The picture of a wealthy man drinking vinegar<sup>52</sup> points a contrast with those who drank fine wines. Horace knows of folk that appeased<sup>53</sup> their genius with flowers and wine. He himself followed the general custom<sup>54</sup> of being "dry" in the morning but of becoming "wet" in the evening. Horace refers to guests going on revels, vying with<sup>55</sup> each other at the wine and inverting<sup>56</sup> bowls of wine. He speaks of workers returning home to their wine<sup>57</sup> much as we should think of them as coming home to dinner. Horace confirms the custom of giving dinners in which all contribute<sup>58</sup> their share and of reserving the evening for drinking by singling<sup>59</sup> out a drinker that began at midday and another<sup>60</sup> that placated his genius with wine in the daytime. Horace pictures a country steward that misses<sup>61</sup> the taverns of the city, a boatman<sup>62</sup> that got drunk on cheap wine, a drunken<sup>63</sup> spectator of the shows, folk<sup>64</sup> that did not object to spending a part of the day drinking under a tree or by a spring, and a guest that to get even<sup>65</sup> with his host by drinking him out of his house and home calls<sup>66</sup> for larger cups. Horace himself is advised that it will help his insomnia if he will soak himself<sup>67</sup> well in wine before going to bed.

### *Virgines Puerique*

THE PRESENCE of girls and lads in Horace's verse suggests a symposaic atmosphere even when there is no drinking expressly stated as going on. There was the lovely daughter<sup>68</sup> of a lovely mother. There was Phyllis<sup>69</sup> to help him entertain Maecenas, Leuconoe<sup>70</sup> to strain his wine, Lyde<sup>71</sup> who knew the effectiveness of the Laconian headdress, Lyce<sup>72</sup> and Chloris<sup>73</sup> who showed the effects of time, Pholoe<sup>74</sup> who should be taking her mother's place, Cinara who jilted<sup>75</sup> and robbed<sup>76</sup> the poet, but left a bit of fond<sup>77</sup> memory behind, Pyrrha<sup>78</sup> who had helped educate Horace,

Lydia<sup>79</sup> who made him jealous, Glycera<sup>80</sup> whose beauty disturbed him, Lalage<sup>81</sup> who charmed him with her prattle, the golden-haired Chloe,<sup>82</sup> Neaera<sup>83</sup> of the tangled hair, the unsavory Canidia,<sup>84</sup> the stout-drinking Damalis,<sup>85</sup> the faithless Barine,<sup>86</sup> and the freedwomen Phryne<sup>87</sup> and Tyndaris;<sup>88</sup> and there are lads: Ligurinus,<sup>89</sup> Lycidas,<sup>90</sup> Telephus<sup>91</sup> and Lysiscus.<sup>92</sup> In view of all this familiarity of Horace with Bacchic terminology, it is not surprising that literal-minded readers have thought of the poet as being Bacchic-conscious.

Besides this objective evidence, much of which is hardly more than a tallying of items, there is much of a more subjective case, much of which seems to be revealing of Horace's own self. Most of this comes out in his contemplation of drinking parties, past, present, and future. These largely concern festal occasions and social functions associated with the names of prominent personages, friends, or loose lads and women.

### *The Powers of Wine*

READERS will notice Horace's ready familiarity with the powers of wine both good and bad. Such observations may indicate some personal experience on his part. He knows that wine may make<sup>93</sup> folk sigh, laugh, and quarrel.<sup>94</sup> It may make one fall<sup>94</sup> insanely in love or go easily<sup>95</sup> to sleep. It may make the drinker immodest if Horace is correct in applying<sup>93</sup> *inverecundus* to the god of wine. He seems to have found out by experience that wine may make the drinker reveal<sup>97</sup> secrets and may make folk more free to<sup>98</sup> be abusive. He pictures himself as being heated<sup>99</sup> with wine. Some readers might argue something from his calling<sup>100</sup> attempts at regulating symposia "insane." The suggestion that shrimps and snails may help<sup>101</sup> the jaded drinker indicates that drinkers of Horace's entourage might become jaded. Similar deductions may be made from the advice not to eat<sup>102</sup> lettuce with a stomach sour from drinking, and not to drink<sup>103</sup> strong wine on an empty stomach. Horace seems, too, to have known<sup>104</sup> of heirs that drank up their inheritances and of householders that could



count their wine jars by the thousand.<sup>105</sup> He has seen drinkers that took their drink strong,<sup>106</sup> others that were happy to get "wet" with moderate<sup>107</sup> potions. In one of his odes<sup>108</sup> Horace, trying to explain how jealous he was, used as a comparison the tension that may come from drinking; perhaps he spoke from his own experience. Some may feel that the thrust of Horace's slave went home when he made fun of him for pretending he didn't like to go to drinking<sup>109</sup> parties. Our poet seems to testify to a devotion to banquets when he owns<sup>110</sup> to having given them up by reason of a new interest; likewise when he has Damasippus scold<sup>111</sup> him for allowing wine and sleep to interfere with his writing. If Horace's satire on the antics of faded<sup>112</sup> beauties suggests something personal, one may detect a bit of autobiography in his fling at Chloris for emptying a whole jar of wine. His advice<sup>113</sup> to Lyde to get down a jar of wine and give a jolt to her well-ordered habits of thought may recall some past event in Horace's career. Horace's protest<sup>114</sup> that he has become too old for reveling and for drinking bouts<sup>115</sup> leaves the inference that in his younger days he may have indulged in such functions. Speaking of what happened to him when he got heated with too strong wine, Horace uses the imperfect<sup>116</sup> of customary past action. It is also noticeable that Horace has Damasippus suggest<sup>117</sup> that Horace may write something worth while now that he has sobered up from the drunkenness of the Saturnalia. Horace himself confesses that he had been<sup>118</sup> fond of drinking soon after noon. He was not

ashamed<sup>119</sup> of such frailty. At a symposium, possibly apocryphal, Horace will play the madman and so he chooses<sup>120</sup> the stronger mixture with nine parts of wine to three of water.

### *Horace's Self-Revelation*

MUCH self-revelation seems to come out in Horace's entertainment of friends. In his ode to Tyndaris<sup>121</sup> he proposes a party at which things will be in decency and in order. There will be no strong wines to drink. Bacchus will not stir up a drinking row, and no jealous rival will break up the party by beating up the poor girl, snatching her garland off her head, and tearing her clothes. Some readers will see in these latter lines a picture of what may have taken place at some of the poet's carousals. Also in the ode<sup>122</sup> to Varus students may see a reflection of the poet's belief when he advises his friend to prefer no tree to the vine and assures him that the divine power makes everything hard for water drinkers and that the only way to be rid of carking care is by drinking. When Horace invites<sup>123</sup> Pompeius to a carouse, he cautions him against sparing the wine jars and bids him to be rid of care by filling cups of wine. He himself will revel<sup>124</sup> as wildly as the hard-drinking Thracians. Horace, reminding a friend that it is time<sup>125</sup> to be thirsty, proposes a party at which the guest at least will get drunk<sup>126</sup> as the company for a time lays aside prudence and indulges<sup>127</sup> in a bit of madness. Horace marks the connotation of *libera*<sup>128</sup> when applied to wine poetry.

### *Augustus and Maecenas*

FREQUENTLY Augustus furnishes the opportunity for a bit of drinking. On such festal occasions Horace will drive away dark cares with a jar<sup>129</sup> of wine and other drinking paraphernalia; his assurance<sup>130</sup> that his graying hairs will render a quarrel unlikely indicates that in his earlier days he may have been less circumspect. In his later years Horace avows<sup>131</sup> himself to be well soaked in wine as he spends the evening singing of Augustus. Likewise, Horace thinks of himself as singing<sup>132</sup> in honor of Augustus amid the

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(Arthur Patch McKinlay has long been interested in liquor problems in ancient times, and this article is the latest product of his researches. He has been Professor Emeritus at the University of California at Los Angeles since 1940.

Dr. McKinlay was born in Missouri; has his A.B. from the University of Oregon, his A.M. and Ph.D. from Harvard. He has taught in high schools in Portland, Oregon, and in San Francisco, as well as at the University of Oregon and the University of Texas, in addition to the University of California. Since 1919 he has been associated with the Los Angeles division of the latter institution.

bounties of playful Liber. Horace's carouse<sup>133</sup> for Torquatus took place on Augustus' birthday. Horace pictures the husbandman pouring<sup>134</sup> wine as he hails the name of Augustus.

Several of Horace's drinking affairs concern Maecenas. In one<sup>135</sup> he would have his patron drink one hundred (an indefinite number) cups and stay with the drinking until the dawn. Again he visualizes himself as drinking with Maecenas; he calls for the larger<sup>136</sup> cups and expects to drink so much that he will be getting a drunken nausea.<sup>138</sup> When Maecenas asks Horace why on an occasion he is acting as if he had been downing<sup>137</sup> cups of drowsy wine with parched throat, one may suspect the poet of speaking in character. In another ode<sup>138</sup> Horace will open a fresh jar of wine for Maecenas. Again he plans a birthday party<sup>139</sup> for his patron; there will be wine, flowers, and a girl.

### *Excuses for Drinking*

AT TIMES Horace refers less specifically to occasions for drinking. These, too, may help to assure those with whom multiplicity of data may have weight. In his ode<sup>140</sup> on Cleopatra our poet bursts out with a *nunc est bibendum*. His ruling against the use of choice wine while the queen was rampant indicates his willingness<sup>140</sup> to do so on other occasions. Again he pictures<sup>141</sup> himself as drinking under an arbor. He accepts<sup>142</sup> it as one of two alternatives that a friend of his may be found in some grassy nook drinking Falernian. He cautions<sup>143</sup> a too forward lover against love of strong wine. He confesses<sup>144</sup> that he has often broken the laggard day drinking with his best friend Pompeius. He suggests<sup>145</sup> to Hirpinus the possibility of their having a carousal with plane trees, roses, perfume, a boy to serve the wine, and Lyde to play the lyre; thus will Bacchus rid them of their worries. He feels<sup>146</sup> a bit of sympathy for a love-sick girl that may not wash her troubles away with wine. He prophesies<sup>147</sup> that Lamia will be appeasing his genius with wine on the morrow. He advises<sup>148</sup> Plancus to put an end to gloom and trouble with mellowing wine. Possibly from personal observation Horace

notes<sup>149</sup> that drinkers didn't like to be rebuffed when they offered a cup of wine to a fellow companion. Writing to Plancus, he pictures<sup>150</sup> a drinking party of Teucer's at which the brows of the drinkers became moist with drinking. On a winter evening Horace bids his steward draw<sup>151</sup> the wine more generously. He likes to sing drinking<sup>152</sup> songs and love ditties. He knows of folk that do not object to spending part of the day drinking<sup>153</sup> and of sturdy drinkers that drink strong drink.<sup>154</sup> He orders wine<sup>155</sup> and other appurtenances of a party to be brought; bids his friend Pompeius not to spare<sup>156</sup> the wine jar.

Horace represents himself as attending parties given by others. Readers may be tempted to think of Horace as indulging in what went on at these functions. There is Lamia's<sup>157</sup> carousal for Numida at which ordinarily temperate drinkers may not be outdone by stout toppers in tossing off bumpers without drawing a breath; there will be no limit<sup>158</sup> to the amount of wine consumed.

### *In Vino Veritas*

THE READER may be disposed to take Horace at his word also when he thinks of wine as helpful<sup>159</sup> by plying the goad to minds usually dense, revealing the grave thoughts of philosophers and secret plans, making worried<sup>160</sup> folk hopeful, the pauper rich, and the coward brave.<sup>161</sup> Wine may help to relieve the drinker of all trouble,<sup>162</sup> of sadness.<sup>163</sup> In the first epistle Horace seems to ascribe a good deal of effectiveness to heavy drinking; he asks the question,<sup>164</sup> "What does drunkenness not contrive?" He answers his query saying, "It reveals secrets, makes men hopeful,<sup>165</sup> pushes the coward<sup>166</sup> into battle, relieves<sup>167</sup> the soul of its anxieties and the pauper of his poverty."<sup>168</sup> By way of converse Horace visioned<sup>169</sup> all sorts of troubles as being in store for water-drinkers.

Some will see in Horace much that is interpretative of the place wine may have in literary inspiration. They note that he professes<sup>170</sup> to speak nothing trivial, lowly, or mortal when he is in the power of Bacchus. He visions himself as carried along all full<sup>171</sup> of Bacchus, as no less astounded<sup>172</sup> than the sleepless

Bacchant, as being in sweet<sup>173</sup> danger when following the god of the winepress. Horace specifically thinks of the wine-god as patron of poets; he represents himself as seeing Bacchus teaching the nymphs and satyrs. The poet is so inspired by the vision that he breaks out into a dithyramb<sup>174</sup> on the powers of the god of wine. With the help of Bacchus Horace will say<sup>175</sup> something worth while, new, never yet said. He feels himself made over<sup>176</sup> mentally. Horace thinks of heavy drinking as revealing<sup>177</sup> mysteries, teaching<sup>178</sup> new arts, and making everybody eloquent<sup>179</sup> with its fructifying cups. A no less authoritative deliverance on the usefulness of wine in literary matters is found in the nineteenth epistle. Here is Cratinus' famous dictum<sup>180</sup> that water drinkers cannot write enduring verse. In the same epistle Horace remarks on Liber's enrolling<sup>181</sup> poets among the nymphs and satyrs. Horace illustrates this point of his by attesting that Ennius<sup>182</sup> was always drunk when composing and by dubbing Homer "vinosus"<sup>183</sup> for his praise of wine, much to the displeasure<sup>184</sup> of the critics. Horace<sup>185</sup> represents himself as issuing an edict permitting sober folk to go in for business and law but not for writing poetry. Horace seems to hold that drinking and writing poetry go<sup>186</sup> together when he confesses that he is too old for such things. The poet thinks of Bacchus as applying<sup>187</sup> a spur to minds normally dense. Inviting a soberly disposed friend to dinner, Horace points out the profit<sup>188</sup> side of heavy drinking—the inspiration it may give to the thought processes, and the relief it may bring to the inferiority complexes.

### A Hard Drinker?

THIS ASSEMBLAGE of drinking data from Horace should give some idea of the basis on which students have thought of Horace as a hard drinker. Objectively they have been impressed by the mass of Bacchic items that meet their eyes; subjectively they have taken Horace at his word when he represents himself as carousing or when he acknowledges his poetic debt to Bacchus. There is such a thing, however, as being so literal-minded<sup>189</sup>

that one sees what one is looking for and passes by evidence that gives another aspect to the case. And so it is with Horace. It would seem that if students are to rate Horace as a wine poet because he says so much about drinking, they should let what he has to say about moderation function in their final judgment.

Horace has whole poems<sup>190</sup> on the theme of moderation and contentment. He scolds his steward<sup>191</sup> for being dissatisfied with country life in contrast to his master's ready adjustment to his surroundings. There is the sympathetic harangue<sup>192</sup> of the farmer Ofellus on simple life; the preamble to the second<sup>193</sup> satire treats of the failure of folk in general to follow the golden mean. There is the *nil admirari*<sup>194</sup> of Horace's letter to Numicius. There are the *auream mediocritatem*,<sup>195</sup> the *aequam memento*,<sup>196</sup> and the *Persicos odi apparatus*<sup>197</sup> of the Odes. Horace<sup>198</sup> advises that there is a limit beyond which one should not go. He thanks his father for training him not to give way to excesses.<sup>199</sup> He entertains his friend with modest ware.<sup>200</sup> He takes a light lunch.<sup>201</sup> The second ode of the second book is on the ruling<sup>202</sup> of one's spirit, and the twenty-fourth<sup>203</sup> of the third book on the futility of earthly prizes. He rejects the excesses of the wild-drinking Thracians.<sup>204</sup>

Remarks in passing indicate that Horace was at some pains not to get too much under the influence of wine. He dilutes<sup>205</sup> his strong Falernian with running water. He regrets that he has not been on his guard<sup>206</sup> against being heated with too strong wine. He knows that Bacchus may get<sup>207</sup> him into quarrels and mad loves. He knows that as he grows older he will get laughed at if he drinks too much.<sup>208</sup> Characterizing Bacchus as *invirecundus*,<sup>209</sup> Horace would have some drinkers take their wine modestly.<sup>210</sup> He speaks of wine making folk quarrel immoderately.<sup>211</sup> Consequently he would have no one trespass the bounds of moderate<sup>212</sup> drinking. He observes that the successful runner has abstained from wine.<sup>213</sup> In a setting replete with Bacchic data<sup>214</sup> he knows how to play the fool in "season."<sup>215</sup> He would mix his wisdom

with a bit of folly.<sup>216</sup> In another ode, after telling water-drinkers that they will have a hard time, he devotes the rest of the poem to the need of drinking moderately.<sup>217</sup> Again, he gives an ideal picture of a drinking scene with special instructions not to let it end up in a quarrel.<sup>218</sup> He recommends a pint as a suitable<sup>219</sup> ration of wine. Horace's being willing<sup>220</sup> to be immoderate in season helps to confirm a practice on his part of usually being moderate.

### The Golden Mean

THERE is a temptation<sup>221</sup> to interpret Horace's use of the golden mean as illuminating his own character and thus definitely telling against his being classified among hard drinkers. Still such phrases are more illuminative of society in general, indicating by their very use that folk needed the stressing of such ideals. The reaction of critics down through the ages to the thought of virtue being the mean between two extremes illustrates how prone we are to be literal-minded. Thus scholars<sup>222</sup> seem to have taken the ancient Greeks, at least, literally when they talked about the golden mean, paying little attention to Aristotle's<sup>223</sup> characterizing the golden mean as being extremely hard to attain. The literal-minded person similarly may think of the ascetic as being vicious for his abstinence and may hold that to be virtuous one should drink "moderately." Before delivering himself too dogmatically, however, to such effect the critic should note Aristotle's deliverances on the subject. In his *Ethics* Aristotle, noting that virtue is the mean between two extremes—an excess and a deficiency—holds that some virtues like temperance and justice have no defect or excess.<sup>224</sup> In such cases the only contrast<sup>225</sup> with which one may concern oneself is that between virtue and its opposite, e.g., between temperance and intemperance. Aristotle points out that where sensuality is involved man is naturally inclined<sup>226</sup> to the excess, hence virtue though a mean is really an extreme<sup>227</sup> when it comes to questions of right and wrong. Basing his conclusions on this argument, Aristotle would have the individual adopt a definite pro-

gramme<sup>228</sup> for aiming at the mean, i.e., attaining the virtue of temperance. Accordingly, it is hardly safe to think of Horace as a hard drinker because he uses the word *Falernian* so much nor yet to assert his moderation in the use of wine because he writes about the "golden mean."

On the other hand the investigator may be inveigled into thinking of Horace as drinking a good deal to avoid the vice of drinking too little and thereby being truly moderate and living up to the ideal of the golden mean we associate with our poet from such phrases as *mediocritas aurea* and *nil admirari*. This point of view may have led Klotz<sup>229</sup> into holding that *Epistles* 1.15 is an attack on fanatical asceticism. To tell the truth, such phrases as *μηδὲν ἄγαν* in ancient times may have had a bit of sting in them if it should be that the ancients were less moderate than many moderns<sup>230</sup> would believe.

(Part II of Professor McKinlay's paper will appear in our next issue—Ed.)

### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> "Bacchus bei Horaz," *Museum für Philologie*, ser. 3, 15 (1860) 59-60.

<sup>2</sup> *The Roman Way* (London, Dent and Sons Limited, 1933) 165.

<sup>3</sup> "An Analytical Study of Horace's Ideas," *Iowa Studies in Classical Philology*, 5 (1937) 106. See note 352, below (in Part II.).

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* (see note 1) 39, 40; for further examples of Mr. Pierson's interpreting Horace literally see notes 165, 166, and 179, below.

<sup>5</sup> *Epistles* 1.5.16-20; cf. Pierson, *op. cit.* (see note 1) 59; so also J. C. Rolfe, *Horace, Satires and Epistles* (Rev. ed.; New York, Allyn and Bacon, 1885), in a note on Horace, *Epistles* 1.5.16; A. S. Wilkins, *The Epistles of Horace* (London, Macmillan, 1885) 123.

<sup>6</sup> J. B. Greenough, *Satires and Epistles of Horace* (Boston, Ginn, 1899) in a note on *Epistles* 1.5.12.

<sup>7</sup> *Die Realien bei Horaz* (Berlin, Gaertners, 1892) 2.103.

<sup>8</sup> B. Hederick, *Notitia Auctorum* (Viteb. 1714, 352, cited by E. Stemplinger, Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, R.E., s.v. "Horatius," 8.2345).

<sup>9</sup> A. Klotz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* (Leipzig, Velhagen und Klasing, 1930) 170.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.* (see note 9) 174. See also note 229, below.

<sup>11</sup> M. Schanz, "Geschichte der römischen Literatur," in *Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft* (Munich, Beck, 1899) viii. 2. 109, not found in Hosius' revision *op. cit.* (ed. 4; Munich, Beck, 1935) viii. 2. 130 f.

<sup>12</sup> G. A. Simcox, *A History of Latin Literature from*



from Ennius to Boethius (New York, Harper's, 1880), 1.317.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *infra*, notes 285, 305, 306, 324, 329, 330, 333, *et passim*.

<sup>14</sup> Odes 4.11.2; Satires 2.8.16.

<sup>15</sup> Odes 1.20.9, 37.5; 3.28.3; Epodes 9.1; Satires 2.8.15.

<sup>16</sup> Odes 1.20.9 (*prelo*), 31.9-10 (*falce*); 4.12.14 (*presum*).

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. 3.19.5; Epodes 9.34; Satires 1.10.24; 2.3.115, 8.15, 8.48.

<sup>18</sup> Satires 2.4.29, 8.9.

<sup>19</sup> Odes 1.20.10, 27.10, 2.6.19, 11.19-20, 3.1.43; Satires 1.10.24, 2.2.15, 3.115, 4.19, 4.24, 4.55, 8.16; Epistles 1.18.91.

<sup>20</sup> Odes 1.20.11 (*colles*).

<sup>21</sup> Odes 1.17.21; Epodes 9.34.

<sup>22</sup> Odes 1.1.19, 2.7.21, 3.21.5; Satires 2.4.51.

<sup>23</sup> Satires 2.8.50.

<sup>24</sup> Odes 1.9.8 (*diota*), 20.1 (*vile*).

<sup>25</sup> Satires 2.4.55-56.

<sup>26</sup> Odes 1.31.12.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. 2.7.6; 3.13.2; 3.21.12; 3.29.2; 4.5.33; Epodes 11.14; Satires 2.1.9.

<sup>28</sup> Satires 2.4.26.

<sup>29</sup> Odes 3.21.8; 2.2.58; Epodes 13.6; 13.17; Epistles 1.5.4.

<sup>30</sup> Odes 1.7.3; 1.18.6; 1.27.3; 2.19.1; 2.19.6; 3.3.13; 3.18.6 (*Veneris Sodali*); 3.25.1; Satires 1.3.7 (*Io Bacche!*); Epistles 2.2.78.

<sup>31</sup> Odes 1.18.11.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. 1.18.9; 2.11.17; 2.19.5-7 (*Euhoe, bis*); 3.25.9 (*Euhias*).

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. 3.25.19.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. 1.32.9, 2.19.7; 3.21.21; 4.12.14; 4.15.26.

<sup>35</sup> Odes 3.21.16; Epodes 9.38. <sup>36</sup> Odes 1.17.22.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. 1.17.23. <sup>38</sup> Ibid. 3.28.8. <sup>39</sup> Ibid. 1.36.14.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. 1.35.26; 3.14.18; 3.9.5; 3.29.2; 4.11.2; 4.12.17.

<sup>41</sup> Satires 2.4.79. <sup>42</sup> Ibid. 2.4.80. <sup>43</sup> Odes 1.9.8.

<sup>44</sup> Epodes 2.47. <sup>45</sup> Satires 2.8.81. <sup>46</sup> Odes 4.8.1.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid. 2.11.20; 4.12.23; Satires 2.6.70; 2.8.82.

<sup>48</sup> Odes 1.27.1; Epodes 9.33. <sup>49</sup> Odes 3.21.4.

<sup>50</sup> Satires 2.6.68.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid. 2.2.123; cf. Epistles 1.18.92 for the unpopularity of the shirker.

<sup>52</sup> Satires 2.3.116-117; cf. also 2.2.62. <sup>53</sup> Epistles 2.1.143-144. <sup>54</sup> Odes 4.5.39-40. <sup>55</sup> Ibid. 4.1.31.

<sup>56</sup> Satires 2.8.39-40. <sup>57</sup> Odes 4.5.31. <sup>58</sup> Ibid. 4.12.23.

<sup>59</sup> Satires 2.8.3. <sup>60</sup> Epistles 2.3.207-210.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid. 1.14.24. <sup>62</sup> Satires 1.5.16.

<sup>63</sup> Epistles 2.3.224. <sup>64</sup> Odes 1.1.19-22. <sup>65</sup> Satires 2.8.34.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid. 2.8.35.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid. 2.1.9. Note that Horace's adviser is the Trebatius that some years before drank with Cicero until his guest became tipsy (Cicero *Ad Familiares* 7.22).

<sup>68</sup> Odes 1.16.1 and 27. <sup>69</sup> Ibid. 4.11. <sup>70</sup> Ibid. 1.11.6.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid. 2.11.22-24; 3.28.3; 3.11.7 and 25 (seemingly all different).

<sup>72</sup> Ibid. 4.13.2; 3.10. <sup>73</sup> Ibid. 3.15.1-12; 2.5.18.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid. 3.15.7-8; 2.5.17. <sup>75</sup> Epistles 1.7.28. <sup>76</sup> Ibid.

1.14.33. <sup>77</sup> Odes. 4.1.4; 4.13.21-22. <sup>78</sup> Ibid. 1.5.3.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid. 1.13.1; 1.25.8; 3.9. <sup>80</sup> Ibid. 1.19.5; cf. 1.30.3.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid. 1.22.23; 2.5.16. <sup>82</sup> Ibid. 3.9.19; 3.26.12.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid. 3.14.21-22; Epodes 15.11. <sup>84</sup> Epodes 3.8; 7;

17; Satires 1.8.48; 2.1.48; 2.8.95. <sup>85</sup> Odes 1.36.13-19

(*ter*). <sup>86</sup> Ibid. 2.8.2. <sup>87</sup> Epodes 14.16. <sup>88</sup> Odes

1.17.10. <sup>89</sup> Ibid. 4.1.33; 4.10.5. <sup>90</sup> Ibid. 1.4.19.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid. 1.13.1 and 2; 3.19.26. <sup>92</sup> Epodes 11.24.

<sup>93</sup> Odes 3.21.2. <sup>94</sup> Cf. *ibid.* 1.13.11; 1.17.22-28;

3.19.15-16; 3.21.3. <sup>95</sup> Cf. *ibid.* 2.11.8; 3.21.4.

<sup>96</sup> Epodes 11.13. <sup>97</sup> Ibid. 11.14; cf. also Epistles

1.18.38; 2.3.434-435; Odes 3.21.15-16. <sup>98</sup> Satires

2.8.37-38. <sup>99</sup> Epodes 11.13-14. <sup>100</sup> Satires 2.6.69.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid. 2.4.58-59. <sup>102</sup> Ibid. 2.4. 59-60. <sup>103</sup> Ibid.

2.4.24-27. <sup>104</sup> Ibid. 2.3.122. <sup>105</sup> Ibid. 2.3.116.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid. 2.6.69-70. <sup>107</sup> Ibid. 2.6.70. <sup>108</sup> Odes 1.16.7.

<sup>109</sup> Satires 2.7.32. <sup>110</sup> Epodes 11.8. <sup>111</sup> Satires

2.3.3. <sup>112</sup> Odes 3.15.16; 4.13.4-5. <sup>113</sup> Ibid. 3.28.2-4.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid. 4.1.9-12. Cf. also his suggestion that folk may

laugh at an old man if he drinks too much (Epistles

2.2.215-216). <sup>115</sup> Odes 4.1.31. <sup>116</sup> Epodes 11.12-13

(*quererbar*). <sup>117</sup> Satires 2.3.5-6. <sup>118</sup> Epistles 1.14.34.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid. 1.14.36. <sup>120</sup> Odes 3.19.13-15. <sup>121</sup> Ibid.

1.17.21-28. <sup>122</sup> Ibid. 1.18.1-3. <sup>123</sup> Ibid. 2.7.20-22.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid. 2.7.26-27. <sup>125</sup> Ibid. 4.12.13. <sup>126</sup> Ibid.

4.12.23 (*tinguere poculis*). <sup>127</sup> Ibid. 4.12.27-28; cf.

2.7.28; Epistles 1.5.14. <sup>128</sup> Epistles 2.3.85. <sup>129</sup> Odes

3.14.13. <sup>130</sup> Ibid. 3.14.25-26. <sup>131</sup> Ibid. 4.5.39-40.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid. 4.15.25-32. <sup>133</sup> Epistles 1.5.9-10. <sup>134</sup> Odes

4.5.33-34. <sup>135</sup> Ibid. 3.8.13-15. <sup>136</sup> Epodes 9.33-36.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid. 14.3-4. <sup>138</sup> Odes 3.29.2. <sup>139</sup> Ibid. 4.11.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid. 1.37.1-8. <sup>141</sup> Ibid. 1.38.7-8. <sup>142</sup> Ibid.

2.3.5-7. From the context one might infer that Horace

prefers drinking to being sad. <sup>143</sup> Ibid. 2.5.9-10.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid. 2.7.5-7. <sup>145</sup> Ibid. 2.11.13-24. <sup>146</sup> Ibid. 3.12.2.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid. 3.17.14-15. <sup>148</sup> Ibid. 1.7.17-19. <sup>149</sup> Epistles

1.18.92. <sup>150</sup> Odes 1.7.22-23. <sup>151</sup> Ibid. 1.9.7-8.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid. 1.6.17-19. <sup>153</sup> Ibid. 1.1.19-22. <sup>154</sup> Satires

2.6.69-70. <sup>155</sup> Odes 2.3.13. <sup>156</sup> Ibid. 2.7.19-20.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid. 1.36.13-14. <sup>158</sup> Ibid. 1.36.11. <sup>159</sup> Ibid.

3.21.13-20. <sup>160</sup> Cf. also Epodes 9.37-38. <sup>161</sup> Cf.

also Epistles 1.5.17. <sup>162</sup> Epodes 13.17; Odes 1.7.17-19.

<sup>163</sup> Odes 1.7.17-19. <sup>164</sup> Epistles 1.5.16-20.

<sup>165</sup> Odes 3.21.17-18, taken seriously by Wm. Pierson,

op. cit. (see note 1), 59.

<sup>166</sup> Epistles 1.5.15. Cf. 1.18.5, so interpreted by Wm.

Pierson, op. cit. (see note 1).

<sup>167</sup> Cf. also Satires 2.2.125; 2.7.114; Odes 1.18.4;

2.7.21-22 (*oblivioso Massico*); 2.11.17-18; 3.12.1-2;

Epodes 13.17; Odes 1.7.31.

<sup>168</sup> Odes 1.18.5. <sup>169</sup> Ibid. 1.18.3.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid. 3.25.17-18. Cf. J. P. D'Alton, *Horace and*

*his Age* (Longmans, Green 1917) 108. Cf. also such

phrases as "a mere literary ornament" and "a mere

literary device," *ibid.*

<sup>171</sup> Odes 3.25.1-2. <sup>172</sup> Ibid. 3.25.9. <sup>173</sup> Ibid.

3.25.18-19. <sup>174</sup> Ibid. 2.19. <sup>175</sup> Ibid. 3.25.7-8.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid. 3.25.3 (*mente nova*). <sup>177</sup> See note 164.

<sup>178</sup> Epistles 1.5.18. <sup>179</sup> Ibid. 1.5.19, taken seriously by

Wm. Pierson, op. cit. (see note 1), 59. <sup>180</sup> Ibid.

1.19.1-3. <sup>181</sup> Ibid. 1.19.4-5. <sup>182</sup> Ibid. 1.19.7-8.

## MODERN "MADE" LATIN

WE are hearing considerably less these days of an argument that once had a lively vogue in classical circles: should beginning students read "made" Latin, or should they be rushed as quickly as possible into the original words of a classical author?

Of course, the argument against "made" Latin had its inconsistencies and untruths. All first-year books are necessarily based upon manufactured Latin, and a great deal of it is pedestrian and uninspired. But in the days when the living tradition of Latin was the basis of the educational program, students naturally continued with made Latin of intelligent content until the made Latin was such that the transition to "real" Latin was unnoticeable.

Latin teachers might well consider the use of a little additional reading material from time to time with a modern slant. During the war, in beginning Latin on the college level, we made a practice of slipping into the class-

room ten minutes early (the first period in the morning) and writing the latest war news on the board in Latin. The class translated it with enormous zest—and learned a great deal of Caesarian vocabulary the natural way, by deducing the meaning from the context.

Many Latin teachers are using *Auxilium Latinum*, a lively magazine written in modern Latin.<sup>1</sup> Also to be recommended is *Latini Hodierni*, the second fascicle of which contains a number of selections in prose and verse with a modern background and vocabulary.<sup>2</sup> Such expressions as *coffee*, *beer*, *bar*, and *bicycle* will be found in the Latin. Bonamicus Actensis (Goodwin B. Beach) is represented by a lively selection, "Bud Abbott and Lou Costello in Rome," of all things.

<sup>1</sup> To be ordered from Dr. Albert E. Warsley, Editor, P.O. Box 501, Elizabeth, New Jersey. Price, 75¢ a year; special rates on larger orders.

<sup>2</sup> To be ordered from John K. Colby, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts. Sponsored by the Classical Association of New England. Pp. 30. 50¢.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid. 1.19.6. <sup>184</sup> E.g. A. J. Maclean (Quinti Horatii Flacci Opera Omnia [London, Bell, 1881])

1.19.5. <sup>185</sup> Epistles 1.19.8-11. <sup>186</sup> Odes 4.1. <sup>187</sup> Ibid. 3.21.13-14.

<sup>188</sup> Epistles 1.5.16-20. Cf. Supra, pp. 164-165.

<sup>189</sup> Cf. Maclean, in introductory notes to Odes 1.13 and 1.25, for a fling at the matter-of-fact school of interpretation.

<sup>190</sup> Cf. D'Alton, op. cit. (see note 170), 80-82.

<sup>191</sup> Epistles 1.14. <sup>192</sup> Satires 2.2. <sup>193</sup> Ibid. 1.2.1-28. <sup>194</sup> Epistles 1.6.1-2. <sup>195</sup> Odes 2.10.5. <sup>196</sup> Ibid.

2.3.1-2. <sup>197</sup> Ibid. 1.38. Cf. also the poet's wishes of Odes 1.31. <sup>198</sup> Satires 1.1.106-107. <sup>199</sup> Ibid. 1.6.65-71. <sup>200</sup> Epistles 1.5.2. <sup>201</sup> Satires 1.6.127. <sup>202</sup> Odes

2.2. Cf. also 3.4.65-80. <sup>203</sup> Ibid. 3.24. <sup>204</sup> Ibid. 1.27; cf. 2.7.26-27. <sup>205</sup> Ibid. 2.11.19-20. <sup>206</sup> Epodes

11.13-14. <sup>207</sup> Odes 3.21.2-3. <sup>208</sup> Epistles 2.2.215-216. <sup>209</sup> Epodes 11.13. <sup>210</sup> Odes 1.27.3 (verecundum Bacchum). <sup>211</sup> Ibid. 1.13.10-11. <sup>212</sup> Ibid. 1.18.7.

<sup>213</sup> Epistles 2.3.413-414; at least as a boy. <sup>214</sup> To wit: sitim, Odes 4.12.13; ducere liberum, 14; vina 16; cadum, 17; tingere poculis, 23.

<sup>215</sup> Odes 4.12.28. <sup>216</sup> Ibid. 4.12.27. <sup>217</sup> Ibid. 1.18. <sup>218</sup> Ibid. 1.17. <sup>219</sup> Satires 1.1.74. <sup>220</sup> Odes 4.12.28.

<sup>221</sup> Cf. Wm. Pierson, op. cit. (see note 1), 60.

<sup>222</sup> See note 230, below. <sup>223</sup> Nicomachean Ethics

2.6.13-14. <sup>224</sup> Ibid. 2.6.18-20. <sup>225</sup> Ibid. 2.6.18-20.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid. 2.8.8. <sup>227</sup> Ibid. 2.6.17. <sup>228</sup> Ibid. 2.9.3-6.

<sup>229</sup> See note 9, above.

<sup>230</sup> Cf. Alfred Gudeman's characterizing southern peoples generally as temperate, in a note on Tacitus' Germania 22, in his Tacitus Agricola and Germania (Boston, Allyn and Bacon, 1899); A. Jardé's thinking of the Greeks as temperate in the use of wine, Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire, s.v. "Vinum," 5, 921; T. P. Seymour's seeing with "the eyes of the temperate Greeks," in a note on Iliad 1.225 in his Homer's Iliad, Books 1-3 (Boston, Ginn and Co., 1887); L. R. Farnell's holding drunkenness never to have been a serious evil among the Greeks, The Cults of the Greek States (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1896-1909) 5, 122; Gulick's maintaining the Greeks on the whole to have been temperate, The Life of the Ancient Greeks (New York, Appleton, 1902) 150; C. E. Robinson's declaring the most marked feature of Athenian life to have been a studious avoidance of both luxury and excess. A History of Greece (New York, Crowell, 1929) 366-367.

## Greek Comedy on the Sixteenth Century English Stage

Katherine Lever

THE *Plutus* and the *Peace* of Aristophanes were performed at Cambridge in 1536 and 1546 respectively, the only known performances of Greek comedy in England during the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> What impression, if any, these performances made upon the audiences, we do not know, for no record has survived of their opinion. But we do know the circumstances in which the plays were performed, and from them we may be able to reconstruct the causes for the productions and the reasons behind the choice of these particular plays. In this way we may find the answer to the question at stake: Were these plays sporadic, isolated, unassimilated revivals, or were they an integral part of the drama and life of the sixteenth century?

The *Plutus* was produced at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1536 under the auspices of Sir John Cheke and Sir Thomas Smith.<sup>2</sup> Cambridge rather than Oxford was the center of both dramatic and classical activities. The only noteworthy Oxford playwright during the first half of the sixteenth century (my discussion will cover only the first half) was Nicholas Grimald, a Cambridge man. Moreover, Greek was not so widely studied at Oxford as at Cambridge

despite the early interest of Grocyn, Lily, and Linacre, and despite the statutes of Corpus Christi College which called for Greek lectures. The subsequent revolt of the 'Trojans' indicates the strength of student opposition to Greek learning, an opposition suppressed by Henry VIII at the request of Sir Thomas More, but discouraging to prospective professors of Greek. When Wolsey founded Cardinal College, the statutes did not provide for a Greek professor.<sup>3</sup>

Cambridge, in contrast, had a long succession of the finest Greek scholars of the time. Bishop Fisher, chancellor and founder of Christ's College and St. John's, was mainly responsible for the encouragement of the new learning. At his invitation Erasmus visited Cambridge frequently between 1505 and 1511, and Richard Croke was appointed Greek reader by him in 1518. He took a particular interest in St. John's, which attained a high degree of scholarship under the mastership of Nicholas Metcalfe, 1518-1537. A mere list of the men who were elected fellows during this period shows the importance of Greek study and the quality of the men it attracted—Day, Croke, Cheke, Redman, Ascham, Pember, Bill, Lever, Watson, Young—all men as active and distinguished in the public life of their day as in the academic.<sup>4</sup>

Of them all Cheke was perhaps the most original and assiduous Greek scholar. In 1535 he and Sir Thomas Smith of Queen's College began work on Greek pronunciation and evolved a new system which, they claimed, was closer to the ancient pronunciation than the system currently being taught. They introduced the pronunciation slowly in their classes and were finally prevailed upon

(The influence of Seneca on Elizabethan drama is well-known; much less is said about Greek comedy. Miss Lever here introduces readers of THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL to an important aspect of the influence of the Classics when the English literary tradition was in process of creation.

The relationship between Greek and English literature has been Miss Lever's major study for many years. Her Ph.D. was granted in both Greek and English by Bryn Mawr College; at the time this paper was written, she was on leave from Wellesley College writing a book on Greek and English comedy. She is now back teaching at Wellesley again.

by their students to give a private reading of the *Odyssey*. Strype continues as follows in his biography of Smith:

The following Winter in St. John's College was acted the Greek Play of *Aristophanes*, called *Plutus*, in this Pronunciation, and one or two more of his comedies; When among those that professed Greek and were esteemed Learned Men, it was observed there was not so much as one that signified any Dislike, or shewed any Opposition.<sup>5</sup>

That the final trial of the new pronunciation should be in the theatre is not surprising, for the pedagogical value of the drama was well recognized in the Renaissance both by the theorists and by the founders of the colleges.

Nor need the choice of *Aristophanes* rather than the tragedians surprise us. The purity of *Aristophanes*'s diction had been acclaimed by Quintilian and after him by many sixteenth-century editors.<sup>6</sup> The charge of paganism was mitigated by the story that St. John Chrysostom slept with a copy of *Aristophanes*'s plays under his pillow. This myth is recorded in the Aldine edition and doubtless was partially responsible for the preservation of his plays. In addition, Cheke and Smith were familiar with Greek comedy from their investigations into the nature of Greek pronunciation. Cheke quotes *Aristophanes* several times in his letters to Gardiner on the subject,<sup>7</sup> and Smith in his conference with Strazellius cited a word used by *Aristophanes* as proof of his theory.<sup>8</sup>

The *Plutus* of all the comedies was the easiest to read because of the comparative scarcity of obscure allusions to Athenian events, men,

and institutions. It was also the most accessible, for it stood first in the Aldine edition and had been published separately by Mosellanus in 1517 and Martens in 1518. Translations into Latin had been made by Leonardo Bruni and Passius. Its popularity throughout the period, 1515-1558, is attested by other editions and translations.<sup>9</sup>

### Social Significance of the *Plutus*

THOUGH these considerations may have had some weight, men of the calibre of Cheke and Smith do not produce plays merely because they are easy, accessible, or popular. The clue to the more fundamental reason for their choice may be found in the three continental performances of the *Plutus* preceding the English one. George Agricola sponsored a performance at Zwickau in 1520, Muschler one at Leipzig about 1520, and the Zwingli circle one at Zurich in 1531.<sup>10</sup> All three productions were, we note, under the auspices of ardent Protestant reformers. Not only did they recognize a kindred spirit in the ancient Greek controversialist; they must also have found in the *Plutus* a message like their own.

This message may be simply put. The reverent and the just fare ill and are poor while the sacrilegious and the wretched grow wealthy.<sup>11</sup> The reason lies in the blindness of Wealth, who through no wish of his own falls prey to the miser who starves and conceals him or to the spendthrift who wastes him in riotous living.<sup>12</sup> The solution lies in restoring sight to Wealth so that he may bestow his blessings upon those who deserve

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### LATIN WEEK IN 1947

The Committee on Educational Policies of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South announces that plans for Latin Week in 1947 are well advanced. Detailed information will be provided in the next issue of *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL*.

The Committee proposes to prepare a pamphlet, "The Latin Humanities in the American High-School Pupil's Life," similar to that distributed last year (requiring two extra printings).

The Committee also announces that Professor Mark E. Hutchinson of Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Iowa, will prepare short reviews of educational books of interest to Latin teachers, as well as items from educational periodicals.



prosperity.<sup>13</sup> Poverty complains that without her no work will be accomplished and that she in reality is the source of all human blessings, but her argument is rejected.<sup>14</sup> With the help of the god of healing, the blindness of Wealth is cured amid the rejoicing of the now prosperous righteous. Those who have been battenning on ill-gotten gain or taking advantage of the poor are in desperate plight.<sup>15</sup> The priest of Zeus is starving, for no one sacrifices any longer. He has, therefore, decided to worship the new Saviour.<sup>16</sup>

This cry for the restoration and redistribution of wealth came across the centuries to the men of the Renaissance with startling clarity and deeply felt significance, for the rise of the power of money during this period brought great wealth to a few and poverty to many. Prices rose while wages remained stationary, driving many laborers into miserable vagabondage. Scholars, teachers, ministers, writers, and other professional men with a few exceptions were pitifully underpaid. Only the courtiers and the new men of business benefited from the enormous increase of wealth. The continental reformers spoke out boldly for the relief of the poor, attacking particularly the Roman Catholic Church, which they considered largely responsible.<sup>17</sup>

In England similar conditions were evoking a similar response.<sup>18</sup> The enclosing of lands, the growing commercialism coupled with a more intricate financial organization, and rising prices brought forth vigorous protests both from the poor and from the leaders of a left-wing Protestant group. Simon Fish in his *Supplication for Beggars*, 1529, attacks the "rauinous wolues going in herdes clothing deuouring the flocke) the Bisshopes, Abbottes, Priours, Deacons, Archdeacons, Suffraganes, Prestes, Monkes, Chanons, Freres, Pardoners and Somners," for the greediness which had brought such poverty and distress to the people.<sup>19</sup> The reformers "looked wistfully for a political and social regeneration as the fruit of the regeneration of religion," and were "known to their enemies as the 'Commonwealth men'."<sup>20</sup> Latimer, their prophet, was actually addressed by one man as Common Wealth.<sup>21</sup>

Cheke and Smith were both firm Protestants. Cheke was a good friend of Martin Bucer and Thomas Lever, and an active participant in the religious controversy. He was sent to the Tower and later went into voluntary exile with Bale, Ponet, Fox, and Lever.<sup>22</sup> Smith came of a Protestant family and was Secretary of State under Edward. Through the intercession of Gardiner, his life was spared when Mary came to the throne, but he lost his position at court.<sup>23</sup>

### Dramatic Propaganda

IN 1536, shortly after his accession to power, the Protestant Thomas Cromwell dissolved the monasteries to the delight of the reformers. The *Plutus* was produced in the same year. Is it not possible that Cromwell seemed like Chremylus rescuing Wealth from its long sojourn in the cellars of the wicked? And Henry VIII may have appeared the new Aesculapius, healing Wealth with the king's touch, and thus restoring it to power. The priest at the end of the play, who bemoans the loss of his livelihood, might easily be conceived of as the pope now deprived of a goodly income. In Thomas Randolph's *Hey for Honesty, Down with Knavery* (London, 1651), a very free translation of the *Plutus*, the priest of Zeus is called "Jupiter's Vicar, the Pope."<sup>24</sup> This interpretation may have been a legacy from the sixteenth century. If Cheke and Smith did intend to use Aristophanes as their mouthpiece for a political message, they did not need to fear government interference. Cromwell approved of dramatic propaganda.<sup>25</sup>

But though the government made no protest, the opposition replied within a few years. Thomas Watson and John Christopherson, both prominent Roman Catholic professors at Cambridge, adopted two Old Testament stories with pointed controversial application to classical form. The dates of the two plays are uncertain, but probably they were written between 1540 and 1544 and perhaps performed at St. John's and Trinity.<sup>26</sup> Thomas Watson's *Absalon* in Latin is no longer extant, but the story of Absalom could clearly be directed at contemporary

reformers. Absolom rose up against his father David and died an ignoble death as a result. Throughout the sixteenth century the Romanists and the conservatives stressed the danger of rebellion by the child against the father. The Protestants, on the other hand, emphasized the parable of the Prodigal Son, for it illustrated the doctrine of the supremacy of faith over good works as a means of salvation, and they took as their model John the Baptist.

Christopherson's *Jephthah*, a play based on the Bible story and written in Greek,<sup>27</sup> not only praises Jephthah's daughter for her eager obedience to her father's will at the cost of her life, but also teaches the importance of vows. Vows are not to be made rashly, but once made must be adhered to even if one's own daughter is sacrificed. The last two lines of the play are:

Vows unto God must e'er be wisely made  
And paid in full; this is the righteous act.<sup>28</sup>

Priests who left the Roman Catholic church to become Protestant clergy or laymen were breaking their vows of chastity by taking wives, and through the justification of this course and attack upon it, oaths became one of the most controversial issues of the day. The subjection of the child to the authority of the parent was important for two reasons: it prevented their espousal of the new learning; and it inculcated the habit of obedience to all authority. Christopherson himself states this in the following quotation from his *Exhortation*:

After the same sorte dyd children order their parentes, wyues their husbandes, and subiectes their magistrates: So that the fete ruled the head, and the cart was set before ye horse. For childre when they had bene brought up in schole a while with some lewd Lutherane, then would they write letters to their Catholike parentes, and exhorte them in the lordes name to leaue their papistry and blind ignorance, that they were in, and fall at lenght to folow goddes wordes, and gladly to receaue the truth. And if the parentes would not folowe this their childishe aduise, streight way would they not let to talke with their companyons, and tell them that their parentes were blinde papistes.<sup>29</sup>

Parallels for these beliefs are easy to find

in Gardiner's *De vera obedientia*, 1535, and in his controversy with Martin Bucer, 1541-1548. The issue is clearly and succinctly put in the following quotation:

Then Bucer asked by what authority the king might forbid marriage; Gardiner replied that the king had the same authority as a father, to whom absolute obedience was due. Besides it was proved by a passage in I Cor. vii, 37, that a father might keep his daughter a virgin out of his own free-will.<sup>30</sup>

This parallelism is not surprising, for Gardiner was a student, fellow, and master at Trinity, and a friend of Christopherson. Indeed, Christopherson may have written his play in Greek with the plan of producing it in the old pronunciation to counteract the influence of the pronunciation of Cheke and Smith. For the question of Greek pronunciation had become, in a way known only to the Reformation, part of the religious controversy. Gardiner, soon after taking office, objected to the new system and forbade its use, giving as one of his reasons that the young could confound their seniors by employing the new pronunciation.<sup>31</sup> The letters which followed between Gardiner and Cheke on the subject were printed in Basel in 1555.

### *Pronunciation and Religion*

THE CONTROVERSY about the pronunciation dragged on for several years, cropping out again when *Pammachius*, a Latin play by the reformer Naogeorgus, was performed in 1545 at Christ's College, Cambridge. This play violently attacked the pope, and preached Lutheran doctrine.<sup>32</sup> The details of the troubles which ensued for the producers at the hands of the chancellor, Gardiner, need not be repeated here; but the danger always threatening the reformers of the day may give a further explanation for the popularity of the *Phutus*. Here was a play preaching the most dangerous of all economic doctrines yet impeccably classical, and written by an author safely dead for two thousand years.

Peace came the next year. Trinity College was founded in 1546, and among its original fellows were John Christopherson and his young protégé, John Dee. Dee, later known for his mathematics, wrote that he produced

the *Peace* of Aristophanes in 1546.<sup>33</sup> He does not mention the pronunciation, but his close connection with Christopherson and of Trinity to Gardiner makes it seem likely that the old was used. The choice of the *Peace* was especially appropriate for 1546. In the previous year Gardiner had gone to France to negotiate for peace and wrote in November to Paget: "I have wryten to youe vehemently for peace, and I have noted the sentence of oon that said the worst peace is better thenne the best warre."<sup>34</sup> The parallel between his journey and the journey of Trygaeus to heaven to bring peace and prosperity to Athens may have prompted the choice of the *Peace*. However, Dee's delight in his "machine" indicates that he may also have had a more personal motive in choosing this play.

With the *Peace* came the end of Greek comedy at Cambridge. Plautus, Terence, and Seneca among the classical authors displaced Aristophanes and gradually drove out even contemporary controversial plays. With the accession of Elizabeth interest shifted to farces, to tragedies, and to romances, for governmental banning of controversial plays became increasingly strict through the century. The *Peace* was published in 1589 and the *Clouds* in 1604, but these were the only English editions, and no translation was made until 1651. On the continent too the interest in Aristophanes diminished with the exception always of a few satirists. This was to be expected, was in fact more natural than the earlier interest, for Aristophanes's comedies are difficult to read and for the most part too esoteric for general appreciation. In the earlier part of the century these difficulties were overcome, despite the lack of dictionaries and commentaries, because the reformers found a spokesman in the ancient satirist. The *Plutus* in particular fitted their needs.

The needs of men of affairs during this period were many and pressing. The social and economic changes of the sixteenth century necessitated new solutions for new problems, and the religious controversies demanded a fresh supply of ammunition. Next to the Bible, the classics fulfilled these demands by furnishing both advice and artillery. For the latter the church fathers were the chief

source of material; for the former Isocrates, Plutarch, Demosthenes, and the philosophers. So Ascham reports that Cheke said:

I would have a good Student pass rejoicing through all Authors, both Greek and Latin; but he that will dwell in these few Books only, First in God's Holy Bible, and then join with it Tully in Latin, Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, Isocrates and Demosthenes in Greek, must needs prove an excellent man.<sup>35</sup>

Few Greek scholars devoted themselves to Greek literature. The great majority used their knowledge in non-literary professions like medicine, law, and theology.<sup>36</sup> Moralists like Isocrates were more popular than Homer, and the satirists like Aristophanes and Lucian than Aeschylus or Sophocles.

Why then did Aristophanes have no discernible influence on the English playwrights before Jonson, though many of the playwrights were university men? And why did these two productions leave so little trace behind them? The answer is not far to seek. The audiences must have been small, and the number who fully understood the meaning of the plays even smaller. The possibility that any playwright attended is even more remote. But this lack of influence does not entail lack of significance. That significance lies in the causes and the circumstances of the productions, not in their effects. The *Plutus* and *Peace* were not produced by pedants eager to display their erudition in tags or references, by culture seekers, by imitators, or even by classical revivalists; they were produced by men who were actively interested in the Greek language and in contemporary social, economic, political, and religious problems. Despite the barriers of language and time the Greek comedies through their political and social messages became an integral part of sixteenth century life, and through their allegorical form an integral part of sixteenth century English drama. As Thomas Venetius says in his edition of the *Plutus*, 1531:

Et uidetur mihi quidem Aristophanes in comoediis,  
non solum sui temporis comicos, sed etiam superiores—

& futuros longo post se intervallo reliquisse.

# LINES WRIT TO LYCORIS AFTER A PERUSAL OF THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL<sup>1</sup>

SI TU discere coniugationes  
 qualem<sup>2</sup> vel studeas pocum doceri  
 hocum, cumque<sup>2</sup> iubet magistra amata,  
 tunc noli bibere amphoras Falerni  
 sed sicces calicem cocae colarum.  
 "Siccis omnia nam" poeta dixit  
 "Dura<sup>3</sup> proposuit"—bene eleganter.  
 Euoe! est locus haud procul, Lycori,  
 est provincia— nomen Indianae  
 sumpserunt sibi, qui locum tenebant—  
 nec non urbs sita, civitas opima,  
 quae (vos credite, posterii!) vocanda est  
 "Kokomo, Kokomare, Kokomatus"<sup>4</sup>  
 Non Graecum est, mea, ne time, Lycori,

sed te barbiton increpare oportet  
 permulcereque pleniore plectro  
 cantantem: "Kokomare, Kokomatus,"  
 si vis discere coniugationem.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 42 (October, 1946), p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Ne erres, observato tmesin.

<sup>3</sup> Valeri Catulli, non Martialis, canone usus sum metrico.

<sup>4</sup> Pone sis supercilium, nam debebas meminisse illius: "Apes, "Apes (—~—~).

Scripsit ROGERUS PACCIVS

Annae Arbori

Michiganensium.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Frederick S. Boas, *University Drama in the Tudor Age* (Oxford, 1914), 386.

<sup>2</sup> John Strype, *The Life of the Learned Sir Thomas Smith* (London, 1698), 16.

<sup>3</sup> E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage* (Oxford, 1903), 2, 194; Arthur Tilley, "Greek Studies in England in the Early Sixteenth Century," *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, liii (1938), 234-6.

<sup>4</sup> Tilley, *op. cit.*, 226, 231, 438.

<sup>5</sup> Strype, *Life of Smith*, 16.

<sup>6</sup> Quintilian, *Institutiones Oratoriae*, 10.1.65. Cf. Louis E. Lord, *Aristophanes, His Plays and His Influence* (Boston, 1925), 111.

<sup>7</sup> *De Pronuntiatione Graecae* (Basel, 1555), 13, 131, 150, 157, 260.

<sup>8</sup> Strype, *Life of Smith*, 22.

<sup>9</sup> Lord, *op. cit.*, 109-11.

<sup>10</sup> Wilhelm Creizenach, *Geschichte des Neueren Dramas* (Halle, 1918), 2, 66-7.

<sup>11</sup> Aristophanes, *Plutus*, ed. F. W. Hall and W. M. Geldart (Oxford, 1907), lines 28-9.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, lines 234-44.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, lines 112-16.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, lines 415-626.

<sup>15</sup> A sycophant and an old woman who has been supporting a young man.

<sup>16</sup> *Plutus*, line 1186. Though the message may be simply put, it is complex in its implications. Poverty is merely thrust from the stage; her arguments are not

adequately refuted. If everyone is wealthy, idleness will inevitably result, and eventually the whole economic system will collapse.

<sup>17</sup> Preserved Smith, *The Age of the Reformation* (New York, 1920), 458-76; R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (New York, 1926), 63-132.

<sup>18</sup> Tawney, *op. cit.*, 135 ff.

<sup>19</sup> P. 3.

<sup>20</sup> Tawney, *op. cit.*, 141, 145.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 145.

<sup>22</sup> John Strype, *The Life of the Learned Sir John Cheke* (London, 1705), 68-124.

<sup>23</sup> Strype, *Life of Smith*, 4.

<sup>24</sup> P. 44.

<sup>25</sup> Jesse W. Harris, *John Bale: A Study in the Minor Literature of the Reformation* (Urbana, Illinois, 1940), 27.

<sup>26</sup> Boas, *op. cit.*, 45-60, 62-5.

<sup>27</sup> Ed. Francis H. Fobes (Newark, Delaware, 1928).

<sup>28</sup> P. 157. Cf. p. 11.

<sup>29</sup> (London, 1554), Tii.

<sup>30</sup> Stephen Gardiner, *Obedience in Church and State*, ed. Pierre Janelle (Cambridge, 1930), xlvii.

<sup>31</sup> Strype, *Life of Cheke*, 205.

<sup>32</sup> Boas, *op. cit.*, 22-3.

<sup>33</sup> *Compendius Rehearsall*, ed. James Crossley, *Remains Historical and Literary* pub. Chetham Society, 24 (1851), 5-6.

<sup>34</sup> *The Letters of Stephen Gardiner*, ed. James Arthur Muller (Cambridge, 1933), 189.

<sup>35</sup> Strype, *Life of Cheke*, 200.

<sup>36</sup> Tilley, *op. cit.*, 454-5.



# LANX SATURA

Quidquid agunt homines,  
votum timor ira voluptas  
gaudia discursus, nostri  
farrago libelli est.

## The Habits of Librarians

THE DROLL habits of librarians are part of the folklore of campus life. It is alleged that librarians are concerned only with the backs of books, and that they occasionally enter into a conspiracy to prevent books from being read—taking the view, apparently, that books belong on shelves. At the Faculty Club, the latest library story is sure to increase the teller's social success, and even the oldest stories come back at intervals: how George Eliot's famous novel was catalogued in Economics under the entry, MILL, J. S., *On the Floss*; and how the Department of Classics ordered T. Rice Holmes' *Architect of the Roman Empire*, and some months later had to connive elaborately to get it away from the architectural section in the library of the School of Engineering. Addicts of the *roman policier* will recall with zest the heroine in the satirical campus mystery, *The Widening Stain*: this young lady was chief of the cataloguing section in the university library, and whenever one of the girls brought to her attention a book that was uncertain both as to title and contents, she simply ordered that it be entered under Education.

These remarks are prompted by a rather trying experience that threatens to undermine the morale of the Editorial and Business Office of this magazine. Last year we discontinued the June issue of *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL* and made what we thought were ample explanations and announcements of this change of policy. We were wrong. Beginning in midsummer, and with increasing frequency, the periodical departments of libraries have been writing in to complain that they have not received the June issue. Some even request that we replace the July and August issues, which seems to be asking quite a lot, because *CJ* has never had summer numbers. The young lady who manages the subscription end of the office is beginning to

wonder how long this can go on.

We should be gleefully inclined to pursue this matter of librarians further if it were not for a card that came on the campus mail this morning. It asks us very politely to bring back a book that was due to be returned on April 23, ult.

## The Game Called Troy

WE TOOK much pleasure in reading the manuscript of John L. Heller's "Labyrinth or Troy Town?" in this issue because it settles once and for all a question that was left with us after we had finished a graduate course on the history of the Roman empire. In the authors that constituted the source material, the promising young nobles of the imperial house, it seemed, were always taking time off to lead the junior nobility in "the game called Troy." We were never able to find out exactly what went on, beyond the fact that horses also participated, and "the game called Troy" remained one of those phrases that one remembers long after more important facts have been forgotten.

How often, we wonder, do the wrong things remain in the student's mind after the real substance has vanished? We talked not long ago to a woman of distinguished intellectual attainments who some years ago had had one year of beginning Greek. She tried to recite *luo* for us, but stalled in the plural, and then admitted frankly that the only thing she recalled accurately was a picture of a dog going "Bau bau" in the Greek alphabet. (From this we deduce that she had studied White, which deduction is confirmed by the fact that our informant thinks she remembers that she studied out of a red book.) We might add that our friend got an A in Greek, and is a member of Phi Beta Kappa.

We ourselves have to admit that we have not taken a good look at Xenophon's *Hellenica* since we read it in high school, and what we

really remember is a phrase that struck us as excruciatingly droll at the age of fifteen, viz. "Jupiter (or Zeus) raining by much," a nice genitive absolute. We fear, too, that what students remember from the *Anabasis* is a vague uncertainty as to whether a parasang is a Persian official, a person of questionable morals, a funny little animal that lives off another animal, or a distance.

So it is in other departments. A zoologist recently informed us that nine picked graduate students who had been enlisted to coach freshmen were quite ignorant of the basic material they had once learned in Zoo. 101. They had to learn the basic information all over again, just as Latin teachers facing their first class usually have to check up on *i*-stems and the less obvious principal parts. What one really learns, apparently, is methods and contexts—not details. Perhaps we need to be reminded of this occasionally.

### The Bird in Class

**F**EW TEACHERS would regard the rude sound known as the "bird" or "razzberry"—*ovatio Bronxensis* is the term used by experts in linguistics, we believe—as a legitimate teaching auxiliary, but one young man we know used it very successfully in teaching Latin, of all things. He was called early in November to take over a class in a boys' school which was noted for a rapid and ominous turnover in teaching personnel. Our man's predecessor lasted only a few weeks.

Since it is always advisable for the new teacher to get a head start on the class before business begins on the first day, our hero walked into the room and enquired briskly, "Any of you characters know how to give a razzberry?" The response from the class was a startled silence.

Our man pursued the matter further. "What's the matter with you?" he asked, not without scorn. He then glared at the class and gave them a long loud razzberry of his own.

Several bold spirits returned the courtesy with a faint exploratory sputter.

"Okay, okay," said our hero. "Now you in the back row—let's have the declension of a first-declension noun . . . And the rest of you, as soon as he makes a mistake, give

him the old razz . . . Come on, come on: mensa, mensae . . ."

The victim began boldly enough. "Mensa, mensae, mensae, mensum . . ."

"Br-r-r-rack!" from several ornithologists (*sc.* bird experts) in the class.

As we heard the story, there were no disciplinary problems from then on. The razz became part of the classroom routine, the inevitable penalty of an error. The penalty was all the more effective because it came from the students, and not from the constituted authorities. Several boys, whose academic records had previously been without distinction, developed extraordinary virtuosity in giving the bird: a clear crisp vibrato effect with a timbre resembling that of an outboard motor heard across a calm lagoon in the still of the morning. Since their proficiency automatically made them critics-in-chief, it was necessary for their own performance in Latin to be letter-perfect—much to the mystification of the school authorities and their parents.

Confidentially, however, we regard this anecdote more as an example of resourcefulness than as a practical classroom hint.

### Yum-Yum, Yi-Yi!

**W**HILE we do not ordinarily publish Latin verse (other than in our *Loci Classici*), on page 174 of this issue you will find a delightful lyric by Dr. Roger Pack of the University of Michigan. If you read it, you will agree that it could not be published in any other journal, for it really belongs in "The Teacher's Scrapbook," and we tried to put it there, but we ran into one of the inflexible problems of spacing that keep the editor up late: it just wouldn't fit. But Dr. Pack has the distinction of introducing a new Latin verb, viz., *Kokomo*,—are.

This will be an appropriate place, too, for a supplement to the "Hint of the Month" for October in which we suggested the declension of Coca-Cola and Hocus-Focus to brighten up classroom procedure. The second declension neuter, however, was lacking, and our colleague Mrs. Ruth Joedicke brings us this straight from her class. Try declining Yum-Yum. It has possibilities; yes, indeed.

# NOTES

Contributions to this department in the form of brief objective notes should be sent direct to the editor, Oscar E. Nybakken, State University of Iowa, 111 Schaeffer Hall, Iowa City, Iowa.

## EZRA POUND AND SEXTUS PROPERTIUS

THE repute of Ezra Pound as expatriate poet, vocal Fascist, and traitor to his country appears to be firmly established. Many know how he was seized in Italy in 1945 at the conclusion of the war, and how he is presently immured in an asylum for the insane. Considering Pound's distinguished fame among the literati and in even wider circles, classical periodicals in England and the United States appear to have been derelict in not noticing Pound's slender volume of *Homage to Sextus Propertius*,<sup>1</sup> twelve poems which stem from a somewhat larger number of Propertian elegies, mostly in Books II and III.

The following observations are not intended as a belated book review, nor as a consideration of Pound's poetical ability, but merely as a modest and suggestive analysis of Pound's amazing comprehension of Propertius' Latin. Ezra Pound, of course, is a polyglot and proud of it, as the most casual reader of his poetry quickly learns. Let us see what fresh light his linguistic talents have thrown on Propertius.

In the first elegy of Book III, chosen by Pound as the opening poem of his volume, we may select a few instances of Pound's novel and masterful grasp of the foreign idiom. Line 16 describes writers of patriotic Roman epic,

*qui finem imperii Bactra futura canent.*

Genuine insight reveals this to be a prophecy of future Oriental literature in praise of Rome:

Celebrities from the trans-Caucasus will belaud Roman celebrities  
And expound the distentions of Empire.

A few lines later (35) Propertius predicts that he will be famous among Rome's "nephews" (*nepotes*); but this presage of a limited fame comes from a bosom filled with

an innate and truly Roman modesty,<sup>2</sup> for the poet continues with the simple and noble words:

With no stone upon my contemptible sepulchre

a line where stupidity formerly took the negative with *contempto* rather than with *lapis*. *Vota* in the last line of the poem is instinctively translated "vote."

Continuing in the next elegy, conjoined by Pound with its predecessor, we discover that the second line,

*gaudeat in solito tacta puella sono,*

does not refer to Cynthia, but *tacta* is the opposite of *intacta* in a well-authenticated meaning of the latter word, and therefore

The devirginated young ladies will enjoy them [my songs] when they have got over the strangeness.

This is a comforting thought, and we humbly wonder whether Latinists may hope likewise to get over the strangeness and arrive at the purlieu of enjoyment. Perhaps we should try a mythological distich (3.2.7f.):

*Quin etiam, Polypheme, fera Galatea sub Aetna  
ad tua rorantis carmina flexit equos.*

This is clear enough, to be sure:

Did harsh Galatea almost  
Turn to your dripping horses, because of a  
tune, under Aetna?

It is not pleasant to realize that some fossilized Propertians, misguided by the antiquated practice of scanning Latin verse, and unskilled in the arts of *vers libre*, have been known to take *fera* with *Aetna*, but why any one should ever have supposed *tua* to go with *carmina* instead of with *equos* is inexplicable. It is also annoying to think that the fourteenth line of the same elegy,

*non operosa rigat Marcius antra liquor,*

has been perversely interpreted by antiquarians to refer to water from the Marcian aqueduct plashing in ornamental grottoes; but Pound, brushing aside such nonsense, gratifies us not so much with a translation as a transubstantiation:

Nor are my caverns stuffed stiff [*rigat*] with a  
Marcian vintage,  
My cellar does not date from Numa Pompilius,  
Nor bristle with wine jars,  
Nor is it equipped with a frigidaire patent.

In the third elegy of the same book further titbits await us. The words of line 6, *pater sitiens Ennius ante*, are a description of "father Ennius, sitting before I came." In line 8 "royal Aemilia" (*regiaque Aemilia*) is added to Who's Who in Rome, and in line 11 *fugantis* is made intransitive, as our freshmen have long rightly insisted that it should be. Reluctantly skimming past other delightful interpretations, we pause at line 48,

*nocturnaeque canes ebria signa fugae.*

The blushing editors of Propertius will surely repent of explaining *canes* as the subjunctive of *cano*; for the sense obviously is:

Night dogs, the marks of a drunken scurry.  
(Inferentially, may we not speculate whether it was Pound himself who created the famous but anonymous translation of *Arma virumque cano*—"a man with a dog in his arms.") The verb *rigo*, wherever it occurs, being etymologically connected with "rigid," means "stiffen," and therefore the last line of the elegy,

*ora Philetaea nostra rigavit aqua,*

declares that Calliope

Stiffened our face with the backwash of Philetas the Coan.

We hastily note a few ingenuities in the version of the sixth elegy of Book III. *Dempta iuga* means "bought yoke"; *sua pensa* means "her dreams"; *nebat* means "she was veiled"; and the last few distichs of the poem are rendered with similar or even more remarkable homage (q.v.).

Poem V starts off with the tenth elegy of Book II. The opening line,

*Sed tempus lustrare aliis Helicon choreis,*  
announces that

Now if ever it is time to cleanse Helicon.

This worthy project is to be accomplished *subducto vultu*, a phrase which does not signify "with frowning mien," but "with my beak hauled ashore" (nautical imagery). But let us hasten on, still in Poem V, to the first elegy of Book II, where we excitedly cull from line 24 some early British economic history, curiously overlooked by Frank, Heichelheim, and Rostovtzeff:

*Cimbrorumque minas et benefacta Mari.*

Welsh mines and the profit Marus had out of them.

While mentally recording a mild rebuke for the negligent Rostovtzeff, we recall that Pound too is an expert in economics and published an "ABC of Economics;" what a pity that he did not go on with the rest of the alphabet.

In Poem VIII (*El.* 2.28), we ascertain that *formosa mortua* means "an ornamental death" (may such be my lot!), and *totiens deos* means "all the gods."

*Haec nocturna suo sidere vela regit*

(line 24, of Callisto) means that "a black veil was over her stars."

The last elegy in Book II, a poem translated by Pound as a final gesture of homage, contains a famous tribute to Vergil. Look at line 61:

*Actia Vergilium custodis litora Phoebi (sc. iuvet dicere posse).*

Professor Phillimore in his Oxford translation quaintly rendered this as follows: "It is for Virgil to be able to tell of the Actian shores of Guardian Phoebus." Here again Pound sets us right and liberates our imaginations with an apt version that truly glorifies Vergil:

Upon the Actian marshes Virgil is Phoebus' chief of police.

Incidentally, Pound's geographical researches have ascertained, as we learn a moment later, that Vergil's Galaeus was not in Tarentum but in Phrygia. *Mala* in the *Eclogues*, furthermore, are not "apples" but "sins;" see line 69,

*Utque decem possint corrumpere mala puellas.*  
And how ten sins can corrupt young maidens.



It would be well not to conclude without paying our respects, or better say homage, to Pound's welcome corrections of Propertius' absurd and archaic spelling of proper names. Just in the first poem alone we have Polydmantus, Deiphoibos, Oetian, Citharaon, and Phaecia instead of Polydamas, Deiphobus, Oetaean, Cithaeron, and Phaeacia. Marus does nicely instead of Marius. Venus is the Cytharean, and Aonia is improved to Aeonium. Archemorus will be better recognized as Achenor, and the quiet-flowing Don or Tanais is deftly respelled Ranaus. Ezra Pound professes to be a "Confucianist;" one wonders if this, too, is his sly re-spelling of Confusionist.

*Sed satis superque.* Our sampling seems fully to demonstrate the happy results that ensue when a poetic intuition of the first order rises superior to the odious trammels of the lexicon. Whereas Propertius has often been accused of being obscure, we find to our joy that Pound's effortless mastery of Latin has triumphantly swept away all the *obscurissemus*.

And did you once see Sextus plain?  
is our involuntary cry of admiration. Some

decades ago a slightly Byronic Pound attempted to convey the idea that he was a brash young man by saying, "I am an *impetuosus iuuentus*." Here again, and in many of his writings, we can detect the strongly individual stamp of Pound's Latinity. Latin in Northern Italy has undergone many vicissitudes, ranging from Livy's *Patavinitas* to Pound's *Rapallatinitas*. But how profoundly mournful is the present spectacle of the sage of Rapallo, driven mad by his much learning and incarcerated in a madhouse instead of being shot for treason. Classical scholars, grateful for Pound's homage to Sextus Propertius, will unanimously lament this sorry miscarriage of justice.

CLARENCE A. FORBES

University of Nebraska

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Finished in 1917 and published with other poems under the general name of *Quia Pauper Amavi* at London in 1919; also accessible either in *Personae*, the *Collected Poems* (New York, Liveright, 1926) or separately (London, Faber and Faber, 1934). Fully reviewed and appraised by Pound's stalwart and wealthy admirer, James Laughlin IV: "Ezra Pound's Propertius," *Sewanee Review* 46 (1935) 480-491.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Pound's own well-known modesty.

#### Classroom

### WHY DID CAESAR WRITE LIKE THAT?

WHY did Caesar always speak of himself in the third person, as if he were writing about someone else?

Did all Romans write like that?

Why did Caesar write his *Commentaries*?

These are questions that occur to many students and teachers of Caesar, and the answers are simple—although not always made clear in our texts.

The basic fact in understanding Caesar is that he was very carefully writing a special type of book, i.e. *commentaries*. The word *commentarii* in Latin means something like "notes," "memoranda," "source material." That is, the very title of the work tells us what Caesar was writing: source material for the historian in the future who would write the final literary account of Caesar's exploits.

Caesar was not trying to write for the general public, and he was not trying to amuse, interest, please, or thrill anyone. That was the business of the writer of the finished history.

In Caesar's time it was understood that the basic purpose of a history book was to teach a moral lesson, and to use the arts of rhetoric in pleasing, persuading, and instructing the reader. Caesar was carefully avoiding all this. For instance, a finished historical work (such as Livy) would contain a good many speeches in direct quotation; the ancient audience liked that sort of thing, and expected it. But Caesar avoids this by putting all speeches (except one) in the accusative and infinite construction, because this manner of expression avoids the emotional appeal

and the drama of the direct quotation. Caesar no doubt expected that the historian who borrowed from his *Commentaries* would reconstruct the conversations and speeches in direct quotation, and elaborate them considerably.

Students are often told that Caesar's *Commentaries* are propaganda. This point of view may very well be mistaken. It would be wiser to take the *Commentaries* at their face value: simply material for future historians. There is no ancient evidence for the propaganda theory; such evidence as we have suggests that Caesar's work was not considered of great importance, and was, in fact, privately, and certainly not widely, circulated.

Students may be interested in what Caesar's contemporaries said about his work. Below are two quotations from men who knew Caesar well. The first, from Cicero's *Brutus* (262), is taken from a dialogue in which Cicero and Brutus are discussing the works of Roman orators, past and present. The second is from the introduction to the eighth book of the *Commentaries*, addressed to Balbus, Caesar's business agent, and written by Hirtius, who was one of Caesar's trusted legates in Gaul. Notice that both make the same points: (1) That the *Commentaries* were

written for the use of future historians; (2) That in spite of the form of the work, Caesar's literary style is of such high quality that all other writers (especially historians who might attempt to borrow the material) would suffer by comparison.

Valde quidem, inquam, probandos; nudi enim sunt, recti et venusti, omni ornatu orationis tanquam veste detracta. Sed dum voluit alios habere parata, unde sumerent qui vellent scribere historiam, ineptis gratum fortasse fecit qui volent illa calamistris inurere<sup>1</sup>: sanos quidem homines a scribendo deterruit; nihil est enim in historia pura et illustri brevitate dulcius.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is a picturesque phrase, meaning "those who wish to warm up their curling irons" sc. by writing history. But Caesar has frightened all sensible men away from writing!

<sup>2</sup> An interesting judgment by a competent critic: "There is nothing in historical writing more pleasant than brevity, pure and brilliant."

... Constat enim inter omnes nihil tam operose ab aliis esse perfectum, quod non horum elegantia commentariorum superetur. Qui sunt editi, ne scientia tantarum rerum scriptoribus deesset, adeoque probantur omnium iudicio ut praerepta, non praebita, facultas scriptoribus videatur... Erat autem in Caesare cum facultas atque elegantia summa scribendi, tum verissima scientia suorum consiliorum explicandorum.

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—Editorial Comment

## WELCOME TO ANTIQUITAS

"PATET omnibus veritas, nondum est occupata: multum ex illa etiam futuris relictum est."

With these words of Seneca, a new tri-monthly classical periodical, *Antiquitas*, is introduced by its editor, Professor Riccardo Avallone.

In keeping with Seneca's admonition, the editor adds, "... new generations have the right and the duty to read in the great book of classical language and literature with their own eyes, rather than through the distorted glasses of some of the myopic philologists of yesterday."

The contents of the first issue are an indication of the program to be followed: "The Population of Ancient Italy at the Time of

the Roman Conquest," by Clemente Merlo; "Callimachus' Book of Iambics," by Carlo Gallavotti; "New Criteria in the History of Roman Literature," by Riccardo Avallone; "Epicureanism in the First Christian Latin Writers," by Emanuele Rapisarda; "The *Pompeianum* of M. Tullius Cicero and the *Stabianum* of M. Marius," by Giuseppe Spano.

In a cordial communication to the editor of *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, Professor Avallone suggests the exchange of articles by American and Italian scholars through the two publications, and we are sure that *Antiquitas* would welcome subscriptions from American scholars and libraries. Address: Via Indipendenza 92, Salerno, Italy.

# THE TEACHER'S SCRAPBOOK

A department for the discussion of classroom theory and practise, and the exchange of practical teaching ideas, conducted under the direction of the Committee of Educational Policy of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South. Teachers are urged to forward items of general interest based on their own experience to the Editorial Representative of the Committee, Mrs. Ruth F. Joedicke, Mary Institute, Clayton 5, Missouri.

## SHOULD YOU STUDY LATIN?

(A Question for Eighth and Ninth Grade Students)

HOW MANY TIMES have you had to give a report or a short talk before your English class and been at a loss for unusual or different words? You will find it easier to use words that are out of the ordinary and say exactly what you mean if you are a Latin student; for when you translate Latin into English, you must be very accurate in expressing your meaning.

HOW MANY TIMES have you seen abbreviations or phrases in your English reading which you "skipped" because you did not understand and so lost the meaning of some part of the story? The Latin student need not fear such expressions as *a.m.*, *A.D.*, *i.e.*, a *post mortem* examination, these *data*, *etc.* Even the abbreviation *etc.* is Latin for "and all the other things." So you see a Latin student would never say, "Smith, Brown, *etc.*"

HOW MANY TIMES have you tried to read an assignment for your English or history class and have been unable to understand some of the words? If you study Latin, you will receive help along that line; for more than half of our English words come from Latin—sixty-two per cent of the words in the dictionary, to be exact. The "insular" possessions of the United States need no longer confuse you.

HAVE YOU ALWAYS thought that the problems you read and talk about in your social studies classes are truly *modern* problems? Do you know that Rome had people who wanted to overthrow the government, people who were poor, people who were unemployed,

people who suffered a shortage in food? You can get first-hand information on these problems from some of our Latin stories.

DO YOU KNOW that our present government and laws have been greatly influenced by Roman government and law? If you read Latin literature in the original, you will gain an intimate understanding of how the Romans lived, believed, worked, and played. You will also acquire a knowledge of our own language, literature, and life, and what is equally important, you will be better able to understand the peoples of other countries today and feel more kindly toward them.

—Prepared by: Virginia M. Kirkwood, Port Huron, Michigan; Lois Clark, Willard High School, Willard, Ohio; Edith Atchison, Cedar Falls High School, Cedar Falls, Iowa.

(ED. NOTE: The above contribution was sent in by Professor Fred S. Dunham of the University of Michigan with the following comment:

"Teachers of Latin sometimes find it difficult to know just what advice should be given to eighth and ninth grade students at the time of their election of subjects. Should they, or should they not, study Latin? I believe the boys and girls really wish to learn the truth about it from those who know. If they sometimes choose their courses unwisely, the reason is generally due to faulty guidance, or none at all.

"I am sending you a statement which was prepared by three of my graduate students—all successful teachers—with the thought that you may wish to pass it on through the pages of the JOURNAL."

## A PARODY OF CATILINE I

PARODIES cleverly done, and closely related to the original, are always amusing, and often serve to sharpen one's recollection of the original model. The parody presented here was sent in by Miss Helen Chiles of Wheaton Community High School, Wheaton, Illinois, with the following comment:

"The committee which was working on the program for the Roman banquet wanted an oration worked out in the style of Cicero; so the Cicero class undertook the project of working out the parody.

"I am sending you a copy of the speech to use if you think other teachers might be interested in having it for a program."

How LONG, pray, pestilential and objectionable villain, will you abuse our patience? How long will you continue to bring such infamy to our noble institution of learning? Do not the dirty looks, demerits, detentions and pink slips terrorize you? We know your racket. Do you not realize that all of your misdeeds have you bound and held fast because of the knowledge of all these people? Do you think that we don't know where you were last period, whom you were with, and what you were doing?

O tempora, O mores! The principal knows it and the students see it; yet he is not expelled. Not only is he not expelled, but he even dares to show his face in the school and cut into the cafeteria line. We brave men think we have done our duty if we keep him from cutting in ahead of us.

You should long since have had these practical jokes played on you which you played on other people. There was once such a time when internal enemies were held in greater contempt than external enemies, such as \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_. The Student Conference has a plan vigorous and weighty, and not lacking in authority for the punishment of offenders. Yet you remain, and you remain not for the laying aside of your audacity, but for its strengthening. You should change that purpose of yours, believe me.

Don't you recall that afternoon when you

## HINT OF THE MONTH

HAVE you ever tried collecting homographic-heterophones?

We first heard of this polysyllabic hobby from Mr. George Strong of the Western Reserve University libraries. When we last heard from Mr. Strong, he had collected over 100 pairs of h.g.-h.p.'s.

Homographic-heterophones are pairs of words that are spelled the same but have a different meaning for a different pronunciation, e.g. row (a boat), row (in the sense of a fight); mow (the lawn), mow (where the hay is), and so on.

But a Latin student can go a step further. He can collect homographic-heterosemantophonoglosses. These are words that are spelled the same in English and in a foreign language, but have a different sound and a different meaning. For example, the following are English-Latin h.g.-h.s.p.g.'s: miles, eat, pace, ire, do, dare, date, male, sum . . . Read these words as Latin words, and then as English words. See how quickly (and accurately) you can read the first word as English, the second as Latin, and so on. How many of these h.g.-h.s.p.g.'s can you find?

P.S. Any student who can spell homographic-heterosemantophonogloss automatically gets an A. Any student who pronounces it should be graduated forthwith; he is wasting his time in high school.

disrupted the library, put your name five times in the box for tournament tickets, turned someone's lock upside down, and painted the door knobs? We know all your plans.

Where in the world are we? What school do we attend? There are those in our very famous school who plan the ruin of our careers.

Leave this school; go from whence you came; the doors are open. Why do you remain here branded with demerits and detentions? What now can please you in this school? All good students shun you. The school begs you



## ANTIDOTES FOR BOREDOM

**T**HERE are several effective methods of administering an antidote against classroom boredom. A Latin teacher should be well prepared lest an epidemic should infect her classroom.

Instead of the old-fashioned wearisome student-kept notebook, why not let the students and the teacher keep a cooperative notebook in form of a scrapbook? Many things of interest can go into it—pictures, cross-word puzzles, comments on Caesar, a page or two of the teacher's comments, and newspaper clippings containing classical references. The teacher should continue to add to this and the students should add their thoughts and clippings, too. From this book they may choose reports, but the book should be primarily a book for fun.

The contract system has its place in the Latin department, if it is not carried to extremes. It could be used successfully in classes for a period of, say, three weeks. A, B, C, and D contracts should be drawn up in legal form by the teacher. These obligate all students to do certain fundamental work. The D contract demands a small amount of grammar, a fair amount of translation, an oral report of five minutes, and a contribution to the bulletin board. The C, B, and A contracts gradually increase in amounts until the A contract covers a considerable quantity of grammar and translation. The A contract calls for an oral report of ten minutes and two contributions to the bulletin board. The contracts combat boredom because they are un-

usual. The student individually "bargains" for his grade and works at his own rate of speed. The oral work also tends to break up ordinary dull routine.

A class may combat monotony very effectively by corresponding with a neighboring school. Each member may choose one phase of class work, although it is fun to add a personal touch. This plan is most successful when the teachers are informed in advance. This is not a lesson in grammar; it is an exchange in ideas.

One Latin class provided pictures for the Latin classroom. The pupils decided what size of pictures they wanted, and planned groupings of various sizes. This was free-hand work, and each picture was signed in characteristic handwriting and was framed. This device is very useful because it calls for initiative and for considerable study of Roman home life. It is adaptable for use at any season of the year.

Each Friday is Roman day for my Caesar class. On this day we do many of the things that other classes and clubs do. Because a Latin club is not practical for our school system I combine a few club ideas with more formal material. Teachers will find that one day in five devoted exclusively to Roman customs and projects is not too much. This leaves four days for the more prosaic work, and the students are not tempted to "stall" the lessons by introducing material which they well know would be acceptable for discussion on Fridays only.

Conversational Latin corrects a lagging

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to depart. Judgment has silently been passed on you. Go from this school, and take your followers with you; free this body from your presence, and go, if you await an order to do so.

You will find happiness only in the society of people like yourself. With the departure of you and your fellow offenders, the school will be saved. As men afflicted with a serious disease, if they drink cold water seem to be relieved at first, but later will suffer more

intensely, so this evil which is in our school, if we allow those men to remain with mild rebukes, will at first seem lightened, but will grow worse.

You, Dominus ————— (Name of the principal), who were set up by the Board of Education, you who protect our building, our lockers, our books, and the lives of our students, watch over us and keep us from this nefarious society of evildoers who would besmirch the proud name of our school.

interest in any class. It should be very well planned. Conversation, even in English, is difficult if one has no particular subject upon which to converse. Objects may be brought to the classroom, and conversation can then be easily guided around the objects. For example, I took an empty purse to class. In Latin I told the class that I had no money. They passed the purse around. They told each other that I had no money. They said that it was very sad to have no money. They asked each other about money, and they described the purse and its color. The conversation was easy and natural. I feel that

this could not have been accomplished by the command, "We shall talk in Latin for ten minutes. You may begin."

Latin students, as a group, exhibit superior intelligence, and the superior student should be challenged with interesting material. Boredom may slip into a classroom, but if students are immunized with useful and original work, the malady will die of starvation. For boredom feeds upon the dull and is killed by the new, the unique, and the novel.

MILDRED HUNT

Sumner, Iowa

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—Loci Classici

## "FERDINAND" IN TRANSLATION ENGLISH

ED. NOTE: *Every so often someone writes in to enquire where John K. Colby's version of Ferdinand the Bull may be found in the back numbers of THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL. To save ourselves trouble, and to delight our readers who may not be acquainted with it, we reprint it here as a classic—which it is. We read it to our classes each year as an example of how not to translate Latin.*

THE mother of Ferdinand who was, by chance, a cow, asked from the latter on account of what thing he was not running and jumping. "It ought to be for a disgrace to you," she said, "not to jump and run." It was pleasing, however, to Ferdinand to sit under a certain cork tree and to perceive the flowers by means of his nose. Ferdinand having been born three years, while he was sitting in the same place, saw certain men approaching to himself. Who, in truth, were coming in order that they might choose a bull who, because of great size of body and incredible boldness, might be able to fight with great bravery in the arena of Madrid. Sud-

denly, however, Ferdinand having been bored through in respect to his rear by the small dart of a bee, jumped with great speed and ran now hither, now thither, and agitated the air by vast breathings. On account of which thing he was thought to be worthy who should be chosen. And so, having been chosen he was carried to Madrid by means of a cart. When he had put forth his head into the gate of this arena, certain men, Banderilleros and Picadores in respect to name, were so frightened that, as a result, they fled. It happened that one out of the very pretty ladies threw flowers into the arena for a help to the Matador. Ferdinand himself, when he had seen these flowers, was affected with great joy, and sat down in order that he might take as great and as long a smell as possible. He denied that he would fight. "It does not behoove me to fight, nor is it to my interest," he said. Since these things were thus, Ferdinand was carried home by a cart, and even now he sits while smelling flowers with his nose, under his own cork tree.

# CURRENT EVENTS

## A BIMILLENNARY CELEBRATION

SINCE THE MAYOR and Freemen of Deal, in England, have been pleased to erect a memorial tablet to commemorate the successful landing of the Roman invader on their coast two thousand years ago (*Time*, September 9, 1946, p. 20), the classical teachers of Winnipeg, Canada, need not be backward in admitting that they held a dinner to celebrate the bimillennium of Julius Caesar's "Operation Mulberry" in reverse. In fact, we subscribe to Ovid's belief that "fas et ab hoste doceri"; and we are still content to learn from Caesar, for he and not Brutus was "the greatest Roman of them all," as one of our post-prandial speakers remarked, Shakespeare to the contrary notwithstanding.

For original place cards we used "cut-outs" of a Roman triumphal arch and in the attic of each arch appeared in rustic capitals the inscription "Per arcum ad arcanum intret (name of guest)." Each place was supplied also with a combined menu and program enclosed in a stiff cover of saffron yellow surmounted by a jet black silhouette of the British Museum head of Caesar. The title page of the program bore the mimeographed outline of a Roman galley and beneath it these elegiacs perpetrated by the present writer:

Venti vela vocant, veloces vi vada verrunt  
Vectantes validos victoriosque viros.  
Vos vinum vitate videntes vera venusta,  
Vespere vescentes vix vigilare volunt.

The menu consisted of a *gustatio* (apium, oleae, ius pingue), a *cena* (caro bubula, tubera Gallice fricta, siliquae leguminis prasiniae, panis, butyrum), and a *secunda mensa* (acina in crustis inclusa spuma gelata aucta). These were followed by a *potio potens*, in which we drank the king's health. Each course was accorded an appropriate Latin quotation on the program; e.g., "Ne quid nimis" appeared beside the word *butyrum*. Since the butter was scant and the *panis* consisted wholly of rolls, to describe them we borrowed the philosophic words of Horace:

"totus teres atque rotundus,  
externi ne quid valeat per level morari."  
(Sat. 2.7.86-87)

But to the roast beef we looked for sustenance and strength like that of Milo who bore off the bull at Olympia (Cic. *De Senec.* 33) and this hope inspired another original elegiac couplet:

sustineant nosmet tenerae latera ipsa iuvencae;  
dicti umeri Graeci sustinuisse bovem.

For the raisin pie à la mode, Horace supplied the text: "dona praesentis cape laetus horae" (*Odes* 3. 8. 27), but the potent draught in which we drank the toast rather belied its name and for that we apologized with a Vergilian distortion: (cf. *Aeneid* 1. 734)

adsit laetitiae Bacchus dator immemor uvae.

Just as a broadcast of the Philharmonic Symphony Society of New York would seem incomplete without its Deems Taylor, and as Caesar would hardly be Caesar without his *Commentaries*, so at our dinner the commoner enjoyment of good food was refined and enhanced by the quips and witty translations of our program commentator, who illuminated the innuendo of our quotations and finally stilled the qualms of any Latinless guest who had taken his menu entirely on faith. Then followed the Poet Laureate of our club who recited a delightful poem which he had composed especially for the occasion.

### THE ROMAN ROADS OF ENGLAND

by A. M. Pratt

The Roman roads of England heed neither hill nor vale,

For Roman roads, like Roman words, ne'er leave the direct trail

To meander, to loiter, to linger in the shade,  
Of vivid beech or solumb'rous elm in a sun-flecked sylvan glade.

The rolling roads of England disdain such rigid traits,

For English roads like English speech, delight in spacious ways

And undulate, and deviate, and play a merry game  
By doubling back and roundabout—but get there  
just the same.

So when you come to England, you'll find to your  
delight

A choice of roads, the rigorous road, or the road  
with verges dight

With rosemary and daffodils and pearl-lit fili-  
gree—

And when you speak with England's words, you  
choice is just as free.

The *Ordo Dicendi* consisted in a series of four short addresses by members of our club who had newly returned to their civilian duties as teachers of Latin after military service in Europe. After the cessation of hostilities, two had taught for a term in the Khaki University of Canada in England. While laying siege to a Channel port, one had studied the topography of Portus Itius and its environs. Another had found time to examine some of the latest Roman finds unearthed by the war's explosives. Each speaker was well-briefed by recent personal contact with some evidence of the Roman impact upon British history, and transmitted to his audience much of his enthusiasm for the achievement of the great Julius and his successors. A map of Roman Britain on the back of the program helped the audience to locate some of the places mentioned by the speakers. Latin songs between the speeches added to the proceedings just that touch of hilarity which brimmed the cup of pleasure. Most appropriate to the occasion were two from J. C. Robertson's *Latin Songs And Carols*, viz., "The British Grenadiers" and "Caesar's Triumph." Another favorite was Baker's "Marcus Et Gaia" published in *The Classical Outlook* for October, 1945. These songs all have familiar airs, are easy to sing and have a strong appeal.

Even during the meal an attempt was made to divert the thoughts of the diners by what we called a mountain climbing contest. Mimeographed sheets of "Divination Ditties" were distributed, each sheet containing ten limericks, and each limerick enigmatically describing some classical god or goddess. The sheet was headed: "Musa, mihi divos mem-

ora, quo nomine dicti." The guests were then reminded that Mt. Olympus was 10,000 ft. high, that admission to the classical heaven could only be obtained by making the acquaintance of the immortals who dwelt there, and that a candidate for admission could credit himself with the ascent of 1000 ft. for each deity successfully identified. I am happy to report that on this occasion the "metrics" of Olympus were increased by many devotees amid the unquenchable laughter and applause of the blessed gods. Some of the ditties were:

1. Regnator caelum et terras qui numine torquet.  
*Aeneid*, 269.

Supreme over legions ethereal  
With a power rather more than imperial  
Rules a sacrosanct god  
With a bolt and a nod  
Which sways regions much more material.

2. Divom incedo regina Jovisque Et soror et  
coniunx. *Aeneid*, 1. 46-7.

The wife of Jove and heaven's queen  
With injured pride and jealous spleen  
Pursued the Trojan refugees  
For seven years over seven seas  
Until they reached their new demesne.

3. Vomeris huc et falcis honos, huc omnis aratri  
Cessit amor. *Aeneid* 7. 635-6.

The classical version of Thor  
Is a god I'm inclined to abhor;  
He turns plows into swords  
And rallies his hordes  
At the very first rumor of war.

4. Paene simul visa est dilectaque raptaque Diti.  
Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 5. 395.

The son-in-law of Demeter  
Stole her daughter, but how to secrete 'er  
He didn't quite know,  
Till the earth yawned below.  
What end to this tale could be neater?

5. Pedes vestis defluxit ad imos Et vera incessu  
patuit dea. *Aeneid* 1. 404-5.

It is said that she rose from the foam  
Her golden tresses to comb;  
But the fish were so shy  
They avoided her eye;  
Her garments were mostly at home.

—Reported by W. M. Hugill, University  
of Manitoba, Winnipeg.



# BOOK REVIEWS

## GREEK ROMANCES

HAIGHT, ELIZABETH HAZELTON, *More Essays on Greek Romances*: New York, Longmans, Green and Co. (1945). Pp. x+215. \$2.50.

IN THIS, her latest volume in a field to which she has already contributed so generously, Professor Haight offers us a variety of entertainment and instruction. There are six chapters, as follows: i. The History of Alexander the Great by Pseudo-Callisthenes, ii. A Christian Greek Romance: The Acts of Paul and Thecla, iii. The Acts of Xanthippe and Polyxena, iv. A Romantic Biography: The Life of Apollonius of Tyana, v. Apuleius and Boccaccio, vi. Apollonius of Tyre and Shakespeare's Pericles, Prince of Tyre.

The author is aware of the fact that some readers might question the propriety of including certain of these chapters in a volume ostensibly devoted to the Greek Romances, for she remarks in her preface, "The subject matter of this is heterogeneous, but, I believe, it all supplements and enriches the picture I have already given of the fiction of the early Empire." Would it be quibbling to observe that the Greek Romances and "the fiction of the early Empire" are not synonymous terms?

All six chapters are constructed according to the same plan. Professor Haight first considers the general character of the work under discussion, its authorship and its date. She then gives us a rather full summary of the story. And finally she presents her own comments, criticism and appreciation.

The chief value of the book is found in the summaries or paraphrases of the various stories. These summaries are carefully constructed and skilfully written, with the result that the reader is not only informed regarding the content of the story but also may enjoy something of the tone and spirit of the original. So far as I have been able to check, mistakes in statements of fact are few. A curious slip occurs in the chapter on Apuleius and Boccaccio, p. 117, where Professor

Haight writes that the name of the husband in Boccaccio's story is Avorio. But in the original Avorio is the name of the district in which the couple live. The husband is nameless.

The introductory portions of the several chapters vary remarkably in interest and merit. For the History of Alexander the Great, where the work of such authorities as Rattenbury, Kroll and Ausfeld was available, we find a fairly adequate treatment of the problems connected with this romance. On the other hand, the introductions to the two Christian romances (Chapters ii and iii) are disappointingly brief and thin. And as these stories are the least familiar ones to modern readers the rather curt treatment they receive is the more disappointing. Even the writing is occasionally careless. For example in Chapter ii, The Acts of Xanthippe and Polyxena, p. 80, we find this remarkable sentence: "Then unassailed by temptation she follows the blessed Paul in fear of temptations and finds the consummation of her life in sublimation of the love of man through love of God."

The introductory material in Chapters iv and v is again quite adequate, but in chapter vi, after a good beginning, the author seems to grow weary. Her fifth and last short paragraph begins, "The Latin romance is simple and short. It is written in a clear, simple style with short sentences."

The weakest part of the book is to be found in the comments, criticism and appreciation which follow the summaries of the stories. As the author has little that is new or original to say she tends to repeat, frequently verbatim, material already presented in her summaries or introductions. Her occasional independent observations are generally of questionable value. We may commend her enthusiasm for these ancient tales which she has studied so conscientiously, but we could wish that she would explain to us why

Apuleius and Boccaccio are still read and enjoyed, while Pseudo-Callisthenes, the Christian Greek Romances, Apollonius of Tyre and Shakespeare's Pericles are curiosities of literature.

To the student of the history of fiction

this book will be of interest for its clear and well written digests of the stories with which it deals.

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## BEAUTY AND PARTING

COUCH, HERBERT NEWELL, *Beauty and Parting*, Translations from the Greek Poets: The University Bookstore, Providence, R.I. (1945). Pp. 61. \$1.75.

Just as it must have been a singular pleasure for a Greek or Roman to divest himself of the assorted hardware of his armor and to relax in civil garb, so it is an unusual delight to have in hand a volume slim as a Cretan princess and yet the product of one who feels at home in a full panoply of learned gear.

These tidy pages are unencumbered by footnotes, indices or bibliography. They present the reader only with chaste and tasteful renderings of passages ranging from Homer to the Anthologies. The lines of type are short, as in a papyrus, and they are rhythmical though not metrical, the divisions corresponding neatly to phrase and clause. The arrangement is by themes: Beauty, Parting, Tragic Fulfilment, Individualism and Nature, with an Envoi from Meleager. The reader learns anew of Helen and Priam, Hector and Andromache, Danaë and Perseus, Thyrsis and

Heliodora, lights of literature whose brightness is never dimmed. Prefaced to each is a brief paragraph of critical guidance, which seems in each instance to strike the key-note with unobtrusive sureness.

The atmosphere recreated by the author is rather that of Keats and Chapman's Homer than of Pope, of Andrew Lang rather than of Wilamowitz, and those readers who have at some time tried to translate with the utmost simplicity will best understand the painstaking care that is here bestowed upon each detail. In keeping with the versions are three drawings by the author from Greek vases, a cover-design, a vignette on the title-page, and an end-piece. To have the charm of classical art and literature thus nakedly exemplified will be a refreshing experience for those who are sometimes wearied by self-righteous litanies of praise for things of beauty that no erudite encomium can teach us truly to enjoy.

NORMAN W. DEWITT

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## OEDIPUS AT COLONUS

TREVELYAN, R. C., *Sophocles: Oedipus at Colonus*: Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, The Macmillan Company (1946). Pp. 76. 3s. 6d.

STUDENTS and teachers of Greek tragedy should welcome this new translation of the crowning masterpiece of Sophocles' old age. Mr. Trevelyan's version, in blank verse, is reasonably accurate, contains no obscurities, and does not strain too obviously for its effect; at its best his English has a style and elegance which is not unlike the older prose version of Jebb. Those who prefer their

Greek plays in verse translation will do well to look over this translation, which reads, at least to this reviewer's ear, more smoothly than Campbell's version in the Oxford collection of *Fifteen Greek Plays*.

The iambic passages are rendered in English pentameters, which are, on the whole, highly successful. Two examples may give the reader a fair idea of Trevelyan's style. The first is the passage in which Oedipus warns Theseus of possible future strife with Thebes:

Dear son of Aegeus, to the Gods alone

Old age and death come never; but all else  
Time, that is lord of all things, shall dissolve.  
Earth's strength decays, and the strength of  
the body;

Trust between men dies, and distrust is born;  
And among friends or between city and city  
Never for long does the same spirit blow.

Or, as an example of a more impassioned speech, here is the magnificent curse of the dying Oedipus to his sons:

Begone, loathed and unfathered by me, vilest  
Of vile men, and take with you these my curses  
Which I call down on you: never to vanquish  
Your native land, nor ever to return  
To hill-girt Argos, but by a kindred hand  
To die, and slay him who has banished you.  
Such my curse: and I call the dread primeval  
Tartarean gloom to take you to its home;  
I call the Deities of this place, and Ares  
Who has set this dire hate between you two.  
Go, having heard this curse—go, publish it  
To the Cadmeans all, and to your own  
Faithful allies; tell them how Oedipus  
Has portioned out such honours to his sons.

The choral and lyric passages are done in a more elaborate fashion. Here Mr. Trevelyan has theories, which he states in his Introduction: "If we wish to reproduce a Greek rhythmical phrase in English, we must, as it were, translate quantity into stress. At the same time, where possible, long and short English syllables must correspond to long and short Greek syllables. When translating the lyrics and anapests of Greek plays, I have hitherto attempted to imitate as closely as possible the metrical pattern and phrasing of the original." This is a tempting idea, one which many of us, I daresay, have attempted to use at one time or another in translating Greek verse; however, even Mr. Trevelyan admits that it will not work in many cases and has abandoned the attempt in several choruses of the *Oedipus at Colonus*. The chief difficulty seems to be that it is almost impossible to tell how to read such a verse metrically without referring to the original Greek meter which is being imitated. Granted that the experienced reader will feel and catch the underlying Glyconic rhythm in the following passage:

Whoso yearns for an ampler portion  
Of life, scorning a modest span,  
Naught of him can I truly deem  
Save that his heart is possessed by folly.

Nonetheless, let the experienced reader read over the two following versions of the first lines of the parodos; both are printed as prose, but one is the Trevelyan verse version, the other the prose translation of Jebb. It is doubtful if anyone can tell which is meant to be verse.

1. Give heed—who was he, then? Where lodges he?—whither has he rushed from this place, insolent, he, above all who lives? Scan the ground, look well, urge the quest in every part.

2. Search—who was he? Where does he lurk? Where has he stolen away, this wretch, of all men the most shameless and insolent? On all sides scan the grove; with keen eyes peer around.

This is not to say that some of the choruses do not turn out to be excellent poetry in Mr. Trevelyan's versions; the first stasimon (lines 668 sqq.) is particularly impressive. But the question arises whether it is not better, at least in translations addressed primarily to Greek-less readers, to stick to rhythms and verse-forms which are easily recognized as poetry by English readers.

A few minor criticisms may be noted here: the use of *Omoi* (or *Oimoi*) as exclamations look queer in an English text and will need explaining to the uninitiated. Lines 937-8 contain either a bad mistranslation or a misprint. One wonders if "mercy" is quite the apt word to translate that illusive Greek word, *Aidôs*. And finally, for the benefit of students, a few more stage-directions would have been helpful.

The work is attractively printed, bound in paper covers, and modestly priced. A teacher who wishes to supplement the offerings in tragedy in a course in Greek literature might do well to have his class purchase this readable little volume.

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## BETWEEN TWO WORLDS

FRÄNKEL, HERMANN, *Ovid: A Poet Between Two Worlds: "Sather Classical Lectures,"* Vol. 18: Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press (1945). Pp. ix+282. \$2.50.

THE VERSATILITY of Ovid's genius, the rich variety of his writings, and the ease with which he passes from one poetic theme to another have always defied the efforts of those who would isolate and identify the "real" character either of the poet or of his works. In the words of the late Professor Rand, "Ovid's spirit eludes us. If we call him this or that, he quickly performs a metamorphosis and shows another face."<sup>1</sup> The search for the "Ovidian" in Ovid is the central problem of Professor Fränkel's book. His approach to the problem reveals his genuine admiration and affection for the Latin poet, and his ultimate conclusions attribute to Ovid a depth of meaning far beyond that usually assigned him.

Those who are familiar with Fränkel's works on Greek philosophers will not be surprised to find that in his analysis of Ovid he uses one of their favorite patterns of thought. The Greek philosophers explained the world in terms of pairs of opposites—the wet and the dry, the cold and the hot, motion and rest, and so on. The manifold combinations of these opposites, they said, account for the seemingly endless variety of the world about us. So Fränkel has separated out certain pairs of opposites by means of which he accounts for Ovid's manysidedness.

One of the fundamental pairs of opposites that Fränkel employs is expressed by the terms *real* and *imaginary*. This opposition appears in many forms. In *Amores*, 1. 13, the first poem that Fränkel analyzes, Ovid's address to the dawn fluctuates between *mechanism* and *mythology* (p. 14). In the *Heroides* Ovid portrays the mythological ladies as real human beings; the emotions are genuine, but the medium has no place in solid reality (p. 38). In the *Metamorphoses* he

animates mythological tradition with his "romantic yearning for a fanciful world order," as contrasted with "the insipid laws of nature" (p. 89). In the *Tristia*, conversely, "the fair sheen of glamorous fables is dimmed, and sober fact stands out clearly in all its powerful solidity" (p. 122).

There is, of course, no simple relation between the real and the imaginary. Ovid did not believe, nor did he expect the reader to believe, that the myths are literally true; but he so combined mythological themes with the facts of human life that it is often difficult to separate the two. Ovid expects us to "translate his writings into terms of our personal experience" (p. 35). And yet at other times Ovid himself "indulged in illusions and self-deception" (p. 263). It is Fränkel's view, therefore, that an appreciation of the intricate relations between *real* and the *imaginary* in Ovid's poems will contribute much to our understanding of them.

The imaginary world that Ovid creates is, as Fränkel points out, more attractive than the real world. Ovid describes things not as they are, but as they ought to be (p. 17). Fränkel finds in the story of Pygmalion the clearest expression of this desire for perfection. Pygmalion had avoided marriage because he had found women to be evil. Therefore he withdrew from the world and created out of his own mind that perfection which he could never hope to meet in actual life (p. 94). The story of Pygmalion is an "apologue on the marvel of creative imagination;" and the *Metamorphoses* is "one of the greatest examples of just such creative imagination" (p. 96).

Another opposition of fundamental importance in Ovid's poems is that between oneself and others, or, in a more generalized form, between sameness and otherness. As long as this opposition is observed, every person possesses a self-identity which differentiates him from the rest of the universe; but once the opposites begin to merge, self-identity is destroyed. The change or loss of identity is of course one of Ovid's most common themes. It appears throughout the

<sup>1</sup> E. K. Rand, *Ovid and His Influence* (New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1928) p. 75.



*Metamorphoses*, notably in the story of Hercules, who had two natures (p. 81), and the story of Echo and Narcissus, where Narcissus represents *sameness*, and Echo *otherness* (p. 84). But even more significant, in Fränkel's opinion, is the line (*Amores* 1.7.60):

sanguis erat lacrimae quas dabat illa meus.  
"The tears she shed were my blood."

(Fränkel's translation)

Here the poet loses his own identity in a "mystic union" with the women he loves (p. 21). In quite a different sense Ovid "felt he had lost his identity when he was banished" (p. 263).

The oppositions between self and others, and between real and imaginary, are both related to the opposition between *heart* and *mind*. The mind is concerned with brute facts (p. 163), stern and unrelenting. It perceives its own isolation, and calculates its own advantage. But the heart feels the unity of things, it dreams of a perfect world, and it devotes itself to the service of others. Fränkel's most effective use of this opposition is in his analysis of the *Art of Love*. The very word *Art* indicates that the poem is a concern of the *mind*. It is a collection of precepts for the attainment of an end, with no apparent regard for the feelings of others. But underneath this outward guise the *heart* can be discerned. The best way to keep the affection of another is "through thoughtful, patient, humble devotion" (p. 59). In other words, the *art* is only a screen to hide "warm sentiment and understanding thoughtfulness" (p. 61), and in the last analysis it is really the heart that counts.

### *Fasti* Least Successful

LEAST SUCCESSFUL of Ovid's major works, according to Fränkel, is the *Fasti*, because there Ovid's material did not respond to poetic treatment. Much of Roman religion was primitive, crude, and absurd; it contained little beauty and aroused little feeling, at least in Ovid. And yet Ovid was not free to transform his material, because it was rigidly determined by a very tenacious tradition. The result is that the poetic treatment Ovid

gives it is not appropriate to the theme, and there is a "discrepancy between the writer's professed and actual opinions" (p. 148).

In the autobiographical poems of Ovid's exile Fränkel finds an opposition in the poet himself: Ovid the bourgeois and Ovid the bohemian (p. 235). In the *Tristia* Ovid tried "to convey the impression that the real Ovid had little in common with the personality displayed in his erotic verse, and that the latter personality was largely an artistic fiction" (p. 236). His imaginative world has at last been in large measure destroyed by stark reality, and escape is no longer possible.

### Order and System

THE MOST attractive feature of Fränkel's analysis lies in the fact that it finds a kind of orderliness and system in Ovid's works. Each poem is built around some dualism, and underlying them all is the fundamental dualism between "creative art" and "inclement reality" (p. 117). This framework permits the critic to move easily from one poem to another, establishing interrelationships between them. Yet there is danger in this procedure, for it is questionable whether the schematization thus achieved is merely a convenient critical device for discussing Ovid's poems, or whether it does in fact provide an historically accurate estimate of their significance. Fränkel is confident that the ideas he has discovered in the poems were of major importance both to Ovid and to the history of western thought. Ovid was "haunted by the problem of reality, and of the different planes of reality, throughout all periods of his career" (p. 17). His conception of "fluid identity" marks a "fundamental shift . . . in the history of the human mind" (p. 21). His account of Hercules "prefigures the dogma of two natures in Christ" (p. 81), and his human sympathy is of the kind which "we justly are accustomed to associate with Christianity" (p. 22). Ovid only dimly understood the new ideas he was expressing (p. 73), and he never attempted to preach a sermon (p. 83); yet for Fränkel he is, in his own peculiar way, both metaphysician and moralist.

Although primarily concerned with the ideas to be found in Ovid's poems, Fränkel also has much to say about their composition and structure. He selects certain passages for detailed analysis, and in some cases he proposes textual emendations. He has also made a careful study of the chronology of Ovid's works. In all these matters his arguments are plausible and easily grasped. Only in the notes, and seldom even there, does he require of the reader a knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages.

The book reveals on every page the author's partiality to his subject. Ovid's excellences are constantly pointed out, charges against him are answered, and the best possible construction is put upon his faults. Much that is objectionable, Fränkel declares, is the result of his times and his environment (pp. 27, 135). His indelicacy, though offensive, is not "sultry" (p. 71). He was aware of his own faults (p. 7), but "he was more interested in character than in faultlessness" (p. 3). Often Fränkel, skilful encomiast that he is, defends Ovid by attacking his detractors. Those who are impatient with Ovid's inaccuracies in matters of history have a "fastidious greed" for facts (p. 120); those who fail to see the subtlety of Ovid's thought are themselves "careless or prejudiced readers" (p. 89).

### *Ovid not Rhetorical*

THERE is one statement often made about Ovid which bothers Fränkel exceedingly: the statement that his poems are "rhetorical." Fränkel mentions this topic on the very first page, and he returns to it repeatedly. His difficulty seems to arise from the feeling that those who practice rhetoric do not always mean what they say; and if Ovid does not mean what he says, then his poems cannot be used as a source of information about his life, his conceptions, and his ideals (cf. especially p. 168, bottom). But in attempting to justify the study of Ovid's thought, Fränkel has denied to rhetoric even its rightful role in the poems. Rhetoric does not teach deceit; it teaches effective expression. Ovid

had something to say, and the teachings of the rhetoricians were available to him to aid him in saying it. Surely, as Fränkel points out, one of Ovid's best qualities is his ability to identify himself with others, to see things as they do. Why should he not therefore avail himself of the rhetoricians' studies of character and emotion, and the rhetoricians' training in assuming the role of another? There is no way to measure the extent to which Ovid consciously followed rhetorical precepts; but there is no doubt that he knew them and used them on occasion. His use of them is no more reprehensible than the use of any other kind of educational instruction.

The book contains eighteen chapters of text (pp. 1-163), followed by 89 pages of notes. At the end is an "Index to Ovid" (pp. 259-278), which gives in tabular form a convenient summary of Fränkel's views, as well as a list of the passages he discusses. A very brief "General Index" (pp. 279-282) completes the volume.

PHILLIP DE LACY

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